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Berov Conditions for Cooperating With SDS

AU2506100193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Prime Minister Lyuben Berov expressed his views on the current situation in the country in a statement for the National Radio today.

Prof. Berov declared that the government is in favor of preserving social peace and assured that the police forces shall not provoke any clashes whatsoever.

He proposed to the inhabitants of the camp of tents in the Sofia center to withdraw, which does not mean that they should surrender, while he recommends to Edvin Sugarev who is on hunger strike to resume his normal nutrition regime and normal political behavior. This is what Prof. Berov thinks.

He further pointed out as follows: I am not an enemy of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. I am only an opponent of the current policy conducted by a handful of SDS leaders and activists within The SDS National Coordinating Council and Parliamentary Group.

I am ready to offer my hand to the SDS for joint work in Bulgaria's interest, the prime minister declared.

Berov To Press UN for Corridor Through Serbia

LD2406221793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2016 GMT 24 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 24 (TANJUG)—Bulgaria will continue pressure on the United Nations to allow it a free transit corridor through Serbia's territory, said Bulgariam Prime Ministrer Lyuben Berov on Thursday.

Bulgaria's principal trunk road and railway routes towards western Europe run through Serbia, while communication lines between the Middle East and Europe also go through Serbia and Bulgaria.

Berov was quoted by REUTERS as hoping the U.N. would find a better solution, for he was discontent with the U.N.'s answer to Bulgaria's appeal one month earlier.

Bulgaria had requested a partial lifting of the ban on transit through Yugoslavia introduced last April when more rigorous U.N. sanctions were imposed together with tightened control of imports and exports.

Berov said unofficial indications obtained from the U.N. showed that a transit corridor, if allowed, would go by side roads not suited for heavy lorries.

Berov, said REUTERS, sent a letter to Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic telling him that Bulgaria asked for a transit corridor for it was seeking ways to make up for its three billion dollar loans incurred by U.N. sanctions. Bulgaria was not interfering in the Yugoslav conflict, Berov said in the letter.

BTA Gives Biographies of New Ministers

AU2306203693 Sofia BTA in English 1938 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 23 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov's motion for structural and personal cabinet changes passed by secret ballot in the National Assembly today. [passage omitted]

Stanislav Penkov Daskalov, the new minister of foreign affairs, 41, is an economist. He worked in foreign trade as an expert at the former Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, from October 1988 to March 1991 he was first secretary in charge of matters related to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of Bulgaria's Permanent Mission to the United Nations Office in Geneva. In March 1991 Mr. Daskalov took office as deputy minister of trade in three cabinets—the one headed by Dimitur Popov, the one formed by Filip Dimitrov (of the Union of Democratic Forces), and in the incumbent cabinet chaired by Prof. Lyuben Berov. He was Bulgaria's chief negotiator for its association with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the European Community.

Petur Zakhariev Kornazhev, minister of justice, 63, is a lawyer. After the collapse of the communist regime in 1989 he became chairman of the restored Association of Lawyers in Bulgaria, a member of the Grand National Assembly and deputy floor leader of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in it. Mr. Kornazhev is affiliated to the extraparliamentary Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP). Receiving the offer to take the portfolio of the Ministry of Justice, Mr. Kornazhev said he would freeze his membership in the party structures if elected, Prime Minister Berov pointed out, presenting the candidate in parliament today.

Kiril Ermenkov Naydenov, minister of transport, 55, is a diplomaed engineer, since February 1990 he was deputy minister of transport.

Marko Markov Todorov, minister of science and education, is 49-year-old. Graduating as a shipbuilding engineer in Rostock, for long years he lectured at the Technical University in Ruse (on the Danube). At the beginning of this year he became rector of the same university. Mr. Todorov was a member of the Grand National Assembly for the SDS.

Prof. Ivaylo Boyanov Znepolski, 53, is the new minister of culture. Mr. Znepolski was deputy minister of culture in Dimitur Popov's cabinet and one of the authors of the model of structural reform in culture. His work as a scholar includes film theory and criticism, the theory of literature and culture, and mass communications. He is vice president of the Balkan Association of Semiotics. [passage omitted]

Immediately after the results of the cabinet changes vote were announced, Stefan Savov, floor leader of the parliamentary SDS, made a sharp statement saying that his

group would walk out of the plenary sittings in protest. We reserve our right to participate in the work of the standing parliamentary committees and in the vote on bills either to ensure their passage if they are aimed to dismantle the communist system, or to oppose them if they seek consolidation of the totalitarian system, Mr. Savov said. Speaking on behalf of the SDS parliamentary group, he declared once again that the SDS MP's would fight to the end, using all legal means—parliamentary and extraparliamentary, for dissolution of the incumbent parliament, against the incumbent government which he described as a communist one, and for early general elections. [passage omitted]

Podkrepa, KNSB Give News Conferences

AU2306192193 Sofia BTA in English 1635 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 23 (BTA)—This country's biggest trade union amalgamations—the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (KNSB) and the Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation—gave separate news conferences here today.

Podkrepa's team of legal experts is ready to help the political forces by offering them a fair electoral bill, said Podkrepa President Konstantin Trenchev, recalling that the trade union is in favour of early parliamentary elections, which could be held in the early spring of 1994. The electoral law should combine the majority system and a "national proportional representation corrective" at a ratio of five to one, that is, 200 MP's will be elected directly and 40 according to the proportional representation system, Podkrepa's experts say. Dr. Trenchev stressed parliament should pass a units of territorial administration act before the general election. Local elections should precede the general ones, he said. Dr. Trenchev will visit Italy to study its electoral practices.

Dr. Trenchev listed 30 policemen who were specially trained when Yordan Sokolov was minister of the interior of the cabinet headed by Filip Dimitrov. They were trained "to neutralize" politicians like Dr. Trenchev; Ahmed Dogan (leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms); Asen Michkovski (MP of the fourth parliamentary group, who left the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces); Dimitur Ludzhev (MP of the fourth parliamentary group, defence minister in the cabinet headed by Filip Dimitrov); and other "nonconformists who did not belong to Filip Dimitrov's circle," according to Dr. Trenchev. He has presented the list to the incumbent minister of the interior, Viktor Mikhaylov, insisting that the policemen on the list be relieved of their posts with the ministry.

There is no conflict in the KNSB, said Prof. Svetoslav Stavrev, deputy chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions. The conflict is in the trade union top leadership, between KNSB leader Krustyu Petkov, supported by certain confederal secretaries, and the deputy chairpersons, supported by some executive secretaries. Prof. Stavrev said he would leave the trade union movement after the forthcoming KNSB congress. Diana Damyanova, the other deputy chairperson, said her decision to tender her resignation for the second time was not final. According to Mr. Stavrev and Ms. Damyanova, Prof. Petkov wanted to manage the confederation from a distance but found he could not do it with them as deputies.

Japanese Bank To Grant Loan to Government

AU2306194793 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 23 (BTA)—The Japan Export and Import Bank and the Bulgarian Government have reached an agreement on a 100 million dollar loan to Bulgaria. The agreement will be signed in Tokyo later in June, the Japanese Embassy told BTA today.

The loan is part of a G-24 balance-of-payments support for Bulgaria and will be available upon receipt of import evidence by the Bulgarian Government.

A Japanese delegation today met with Bulgarian representatives at the Ministry of Industry to review technical assistance already implemented and to discuss future priorities, the embassy also said. The Japanese side praised the progress of democratization and the economic reform in this country and expressed Japan's readiness to support Bulgaria's efforts in this area. Various technical assistance schemes and projects were reviewed and future cooperation was discussed at the meeting.

Besides financial support, Japan has been extending technical assistance to Bulgaria since 1990. Under the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Association of Overseas Technical Scholarship (AOTS), more than 170 Bulgarians have received technical training in Japan so far. The Japanese Government sent experts through JICA to help Bulgaria with the environmental assessment of the Kremikovtsi complex and the Maritsa-Iztok Power Plant, transport policy making and management, to mention some of their assignments. JICA is engaged in two studies: an industrial energy waste study in cooperation with the Bulgarian Industry Ministry, and a study of urban solid waste management in cooperation with Sofia Municipality.

Street Vendors Demonstration Stopped by Police

AU2506102293 Sofia BTA in English 1707 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Sofia, June 24 (BTA)—[Passage omitted]. The Council of Ministers today changed the local rates schedule, reducing the rate charged from street vendors of milk, newspapers, magazines and books from 40 to 10 leva/sq m. The annual fee for the use of tractor trucks was reduced from 6,000 to 2,000 leva, and the requirement for the collection of extra fees for public traffic was dropped. The truck tax will be reconsidered next week.

The recent increase of rates met with strong protests. The private newspaper distributors declared next Monday "a day without newspapers," and the Union of Private Motor Carriers planned to hold a protest motorcade against the new taxes today. The motorcade was blocked at its starting point by police, even though it was permitted by the Mayor of Sofia, the Union of Private motor carriers said in a protest declaration received in BTA.

Opinion Poll Gives BSP Lead Over SDS

AU2306124393 Sofia BTA in English 1144 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 23 (BTA)—According to the regular monthly survey of BBSS Gallup International, the results of which are quoted in today's 24 CHASA, if parliamentary elections were held now, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) would have won them by 26.5 percent, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) would have polled 23.1 percent, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) 5.5 percent, and Anastasiya Mozer's Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) 4.3 percent, while 15.3 percent would have voted for another party.

Significantly, the electorate of the BSP, the SDS, the DPS and Mrs. Mozer's BZNS has decreased since May, when 27.5 percent said they would have voted for the BSP, 26.4 percent for the SDS, 7.5 percent for the DPS, and 5.3 percent for Mrs. Mozer's BZNS. Those who would support another party increased from 14.5 percent in May to 15.3 percent in June.

As many as 25.3 percent would have stayed away from the polls in June, up from 18.8 percent in May.

The pollsters found that the SDS electorate is mobilizing and contracting. The loss of over one-tenth of SDS voters is undoubtedly related to Edvin Sugarev's hunger strike and the overall recent activation of the union, 24 CHASA writes.

According to the survey, the hunger strike which Mr. Sugarev declared on June 7, pressing a demand for the resignation of President Zhelev, gets unqualified support from 8 percent, 15 percent approve of the demand but not of the form of protest, 51 percent categorically disapprove of the strike, 11 percent are not interested, and 15 percent don't know.

President Zhelyu Zhelev still tops the politicians' approval ratings on 57 percent, far ahead of the 40 percent for the next most approved politician, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov MP of the Socialist Party, who recently set up a Civil Alliance for the Republic. Next come the Prime Minister Prof. Lyuben Berov with 39 percent, King Simeon II, the exiled Bulgarian monarch who lives in Madrid, with 34 percent, Mr. Georgi Pirinski MP of the BSP with 33 percent, National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov with 31 percent, the leader of the extraparliamentary Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Petur Dertliev with 33 percent, and the Socialists' leader Zhan Videnov and the leader of the extraparliamentary Bulgarian Business Bloc George Ganchev with 29 percent each.

Commenting on the results, experts observe that if President Zhelyu Zhelev now decided to head the formation of a third political force, he will find exceedingly favourable conditions for this, 24 CHASA writes.

According to BBSS Gallup International, the SDS may well recover its electoral losses. Most of the voters who deny the union their confidence are still potential SDS electorate, even though they say now that they would stay away from the vote. Processes in July, August and September will be crucial for a stabilization of electoral balances until the end of 1993 and probably later on, too, according to the experts quoted by 24 CHASA.

Klaus Comments on Western, Eastern Differences

AU2306190993 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 22 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: "The West Does Not Understand What Has Happened in the East"]

[Text] *After his return from the Crans Montana conference, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus granted an interview to TELEGRAF.*

[Krejci] Mr. Prime Minister, you participated in an international conference in Crans Montana in Switzerland concerning the situation in Eastern and Central Europe countries. According to our mass media, you criticized the EC's policy. However, information on the subject is very controversial. Can you tell us what was involved and what the reaction of the other side was?

[Klaus] The Crans Montana forum was not only about Central and Eastern Europe, but it also focused on Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, the meeting between Arabs and Israelis, and all the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Today's world after the fall of communism, the removal of the Iron Curtain, and prospects for the future were the general topics. I had an exceptional position, since the conference was under my honorary chairmanship. This means that in the presence of dozens of other presidents and prime ministers, I could comment on every speech—this was my right, to a certain extent. Owing to this, the whole action had a marked course, and the Czech Republic could present itself better than most of the other countries.

Within the framework of the conference, I delivered several speeches, but I never said the word "European Community." We dealt with much more general ideas: whether we are able to put up with the heritage of communism—not only we in the East, but they in the West as well—whether we are able to react to the new situation, and who is more adaptable to the situation. We did not discuss individual political steps taken by this or that political association.

[Krejci] How did the countries react to your speech?

[Klaus] I must say that this forum—at which there were some 700 people, starting with the League of Arab Countries chairman and ending with ex-[Soviet] President Gorbachev, then prime ministers of all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, presidents of all the Baltic republics and Central Asian republics, Western representatives, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Hungarians—there were many significantly different opinions. Is has become obvious that the West (I do not mean the EC or this or that politician) is reluctantly coming to terms with the fact that the resolute entry of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe endangers, in a certain sense, some of the certainties that the West enjoyed before. This is a principal problem and its merely phenomenal aspects—this or that meeting of ministers or Copenhagen meeting—are really matters on a different level of abstraction. [sentence as published] However, misunderstanding of what has happened in Europe, giving advice and orders, efforts to hold us at certain distance, and recommending to establish a new CEMA were quite visible at the conference. At the same time, Eastern countries became more courageous and made comments on such attitudes more loudly than in the past. Owing to this fact, the confrontation of opinions was slightly stronger than has been the case so far.

[Krejci] Do you believe that Western countries will respect these comments?

[Klaus] I am fully convinced about it, and the reactions of Western politicians indicated it. In the West, the second phase is taking place, which means that it is impossible to proceed in the way we have proceeded so far and that something must be changed. However, this change does not have to be a certain political step, but the overall thinking about those matters must change. In my opinion, this process has already begun.

Havel, Hungarian Envoy Discuss Slovakia

LD2406212493 Prague CTK in English 1751 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 24 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel today called inappropriate and confrontational the attitude of Hungary to the admission of Slovakia to the Council of Europe (CE).

He conveyed his view to Hungarian ambassador to the Czech Republic Gyorgy Varga.

Speaking with journalists after the meeting, Havel said that he would have invited the ambassador even if the CE did not partially link the Czech Republic's admission to that of Slovakia.

He said he had invited Varga because Hungary conditioned its agreement with Slovakia's admission to the CE by improvement of the Hungarian ethnic minority's conditions in Slovakia.

Havel said he did not think that the minority's status is optimal, but he believed that it cannot be a reason for denying Slovakia CE membership. On the contrary, the minority's situation should be discussed within the CE, Havel added.

Varga said he would convey Havel's position to his government and president. It is no easy matter, the situation has a pan-European context, he added without elaborating.

Some 600,000 ethnic Hungarians live in Slovakia making up about 11 per cent of its population. They have been complaining about Slovak authorities' reluctance to let them use Hungarian first names for their children, to authorise the use of bi-lingual sign-posts for their communities, and other forms of violation of human rights.

On Sunday Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said that legislation had been introduced allowing Hungarian first names to be entered into registers.

Government Considering Tripartite Withdrawal

AU2406103793 Prague CTK in English 2009 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 22 (CTK)—The Czech Government is considering withdrawing from the Tripartite and becoming a sort of catalyst, Premier Vaclav Klaus said today.

Following today's ministerial meeting, he said that with the process of privatisation there were ever fewer reasons for the state to be a direct participant in the Tripartite.

Tripartite stands for the Council of Economic and Social Agreement, which was set up after the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in late 1989.

It consists of representatives of the government, employers and trade unions. Its goal is to help preserve social peace in the period of transition from central-command economy to the market scheme.

Rubas Outlines Health Care System Goals

AU2506090793 Prague CTK in English 1337 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 22 (CTK)—Czech President Vadav Havel today recalled Petr Lom (ODS—Civic Democratic Party) from the position of health minister and appointed Ludek Rubas to the post.

Premier Vaclav Klaus, who was present at the naming, told journalists that the new minister could be expected to restore confidence in the Health Ministry. We needed this change in personnel as a signal that the health care system could move forward, he said.

Rubas said he believed that patients should become more responsible for their own health and doctors more responsible for curing them. This would require definite changes in the system.

The minister wished to have ready after two weeks an outline of the transformation of the health service, which would show a very concrete conception of health care policy. The ministry's work needed to be improved, and management of health care institutions made more efficient.

Born in 1953, Ludek Rubas studied paediatrics at Charles University in Prague. He then joined the Department of Paediatric Surgery in a hospital in Kolin, Central Bohemia. From 1990-91 he was director of Kolin's local health authority, and then in 1992 became director of the independent Kolin Hospital.

He did not belong to a political party before joining the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in 1991. Since 1992 he has sat on the ODS Executive Committee. In 1992 he was elected a deputy of the Czech National Council, now the Czech Parliament. He is a member of the Committee for Social Policy and Health Care.

Talks With Germany on Illegal Immigrants Deadlocked

LD2406220893 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 24 (CTK)—Negotiations in Prague between the Czech and German Ministries of the Interior on the wording of an agreement about the returning of foreigners from third countries reached deadlock today. What the two sides failed to agree on was the starting time for the six-month period after which German authorities would be able to send illegal immigrants back to the Czech Republic, Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych told journalists.

Fendrych said that the German side wished the six month period to start immediately after an illegal immigrant was discovered by the German authorities. The Czech side insisted that the period date from the moment the Czech-German border was illegally crossed.

The Czech Interior Ministry had originally asked that the time limit be three months. At the beginning of June, however, the ministry said it was willing to accept a six-month limit on certain conditions. The German side of the joint committee welcomed the concession at the time, but a decision on the point was to have been made at today's meeting.

Fendrych said he did not foresee the readmission agreement being signed by the beginning of July (when Germany's new asylum law comes into effect - ed.) He added that the Czech Republic's signature was dependent on a treaty with Slovakia on the creation of border crossings on the Czech-Slovak border, although positive movements had been made in that respect, he said.

The negotiations are due to continue between Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml and his German counterpart Rudolf Seiters.

Meciar Answers Klaus on Border Issues

LD2406162093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has answered the letter from Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus dated 3 June, in which the Czech prime minister is asking that the issue of border controls between Slovakia and the Czech Republic be resolved.

TA SR [Slovak news agency] has learned from circles close to the Slovak Government Office that the prime minister and his cabinet are reported not to have changed their views on how the border issue will be resolved. They insist that agreements between the Slovak and Czech Republics be observed.

The prime minister and his cabinet insist on observing the agreements between the two republics that include eight agreements relevant to the border problem. The Slovak side has so far shown understanding for the Czech Republic's effort to resolve the issue of a border controls regime between the two republics in the light of increased immigration into western countries from third countries via the Czech Republic. Slovakia agrees that a state border should be erected, but feels it is necessary to resolve the question of visa requirements for citizens of other states and to secure the easiest possible border crossing system for Czech and Slovak citizens.

The Slovak Government also said that it was imperative for a number of readmission agreements to be concluded with countries from where most migrants arrive in Slovakia. The question of financing the construction of border crossings, something the Slovak Republic has not included in its 1993 budget, also remains open.

In his reply to Prime Minister Klaus, Prime Minister Meciar is thought to have gone back to the problem of returning the Slovak gold that is Slovakia's property and that the Czech Republic has unlawfully been holding. Vladimir Meciar said at one of his news conferences that the Slovak Republic will see the step of returning the gold as a sign of good will, and also welcome a more consistent observance of other agreements between the two states.

Kovac Meets With NATO General

AU2506090193 Prague CTK in English 1833 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Bratislava June 22 (CTK)—For several times Slovakia had declared its decision to join the NATO structures, Slovak President Michal Kovac said after his meeting with the NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe American General John M. Shalikashvili today.

Slovakia backs the Euroatlantic security system in which the USA would also participate, Kovac added.

Shalikashvili, currently on a two-day visit to Bratislava, said that he came to Slovakia to seek opportunities for cooperation between Slovakia and NATO. He told journalists that he was just acquainting himself with Slovakia and did not intend to evaluate the political situation in any Central and Eastern European country.

After his meeting with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, Shalikashvili said that he did not consider it correct to consider only the negative impacts of the Warsaw Pact's dissolution, which resulted in a security vacuum. Despite certain instability in Central and Eastern Europe, the young generation are now living more safely than a few years ago, Shalikashvili added.

He said that NATO was currently analysing the failure of international bodies and organisations to solve the situation in Bosnia and was trying to draw a lesson from it.

Shalikashvili pointed out the need for broader cooperation between the NATO member countries and those of Eastern Europe. But let us not forget that the NATO military forces are assisting in the implementation of resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council, and supplying the UN troops stationed in the peace zones in the former Yugoslavia, Shalikashvili said.

He is to meet with Slovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak later in the day.

Meciar on Meeting With Council of Europe Envoys

LD2306215693 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs organized a meeting with representatives of member countries of the Council of Europe in Bratislava today. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar attended the meeting.

Slovakia has confirmed its wish to become a member of the Council of Europe and its readiness to act on the recommendations drawn up by a group of rapporteurs and legal experts, which the Council's Parliamentary Assembly gave to the Slovak Republic. We interviewed Vladimir Meciar after his meeting with ambassadors from Council of Europe member countries.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Prime Minister, talks with the ambassadors of Council of Europe member states ended a short time ago. The meeting is likely to have touched on Slovakia's admission to the Council. What was the outcome?

[Meciar] A substantial amount of time was devoted to the problem. I conveyed the Slovak Government's stand on Slovakia's admission to the Council of Europe and on the consequences which possible rejection would have. I told the Hungarian side of our stand, above all on the issue they raised about our nonobservance of [Council of Europe] recommendations and on new, historically unjustified demands [made by the Hungarian side].

The official representing Denmark, the Danish ambassador, spoke on behalf of his and other EC member states and said that these countries would support the

Slovak Republic's admission to the Council. They do not identify with Hungary's stand. At the same time, he asked the Slovak Government to guarantee that the conclusions and recommendations which will be addressed to us when we are accepted as a Council of Europe member will be implemented and observed. I was happy to assure him this would be so.

There was a prolonged discussion with the Hungarian representative at the meeting. He set out more views and interpretations on behalf of the Hungarian side. I had to correct their historical inaccuracy and irrelevance, and the distorted arguments which he presented. I concluded our conversation by saying that we have always been keen to maintain good relations with the Republic of Hungary. It takes two to make a relationship, though. A reciprocal attitude from the Republic of Hungary is needed.

[Reporter] Does that mean that you have been told of Hungary's intention? Are they going to veto Slovakia's admission or not?

[Meciar] No, we have not learned of their plans. All that was offered were new arguments and demands adding to those used earlier by Hungary as a Council of Europe member and personally by Hungary's ambassador to the Council. [end recording]

Foreign Currency Reserves Amount to $1.2 Billion

AU2306163193 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Jun 93 p 9

[TA SR report: "Slovakia's Foreign Currency Reserves Amount to $1.2 Billion"]

[Excerpt] Kosice—The overall foreign currency reserves in the Slovak Republic's banking sector have increased from $800 million to $1.2 billion since 1 January. This statement was made yesterday by Slovak National Bank (NBS) Deputy Governor Marian Tkac following a meeting of the Banking Council.

He explained that, at the moment, the foreign currency reserves of the independent NBS are hovering at around $200 million. "As far as the devaluation issue is concerned, I did not speak about it, and I do not intend to speak about it, because it is not on the agenda," stressed Marian Tkac.

Regarding the International Monetary Fund's recommendations, he said that "they are of a kind that enable us to react more flexibly in certain spheres to actual economic development." [passage omitted]

NKOS Holds Constituent Meeting

AU2506114493 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 21 Jun 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Trade Unions' Plurality"]

[Text] Podbrezova—More than 50 delegates of Independent Christian Trade Unions of Slovakia (NKOS) gathered for its constitutent meeting in Podbrezova on Saturday [19 June]. Milan Katuninec from Trnava has become NKOS's chairman. In a speech he said that the NKOS will be inspired in its activity by Christian social teaching. They base this idea on the fact that meaningful trade unions' work cannot be done without a philosophy. He stressed that the NKOS wants to be a consistent advocate of the socially weakest groups and a guarantor of the fact that the labor and trade union movement will not be dragged into attempts to revive the old times.

Antall on Disagreements in MDF

AU2506105693 Budapest MTI in English 0654 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, 23 June (MTI)—The late Tuesday [22 June] evening session of Hungary's largest ruling coalition party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), heard MDF Chairman and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's assessment of the current position of MDF's parliamentary group and the disputes within the party, MDF group leader Endre Pokorny told the press after the meeting.

Antall said he had expected in-party disagreements would cease following decisions by various forums of the MDF and its parliamentary arm, but instead the disputes were continuing.

Regarding the Hungarian Justice group of deputies and the newly-founded political party of the same name, Antall felt it was impossible for a group which had formed a new faction and party with views differing from the government's policy to stay within MDF's parliamentary group.

Antall reconfirmed his statement made at a closed-door session of MDF deputies a few weeks ago that some members of the Hungarian Justice group were secret agents in the old regime.

Under the law on personality rights, all citizens have the right to know whether their names are on the list of secret agents, but they must not publicize the information obtained, the MDF chairman said.

Antall rejected attempts to create the impression that the popular-national and national-liberal currents will disappear from the party and its parliamentary group with the leaving of certain members.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Copenhagen Summit

AU2506105293 Budapest MTI in English 1301 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, 23 June (MTI)—"The Hungarian Foreign Ministry welcomes the statement adopted by the EC European Council at a meeting in Copenhagen on June 21-22, on establishing a closer association with East-Central European countries. We appreciate the intention for cooperation signalled by the proposals for developing ties worked out by the European Community Commission and now adopted by the leaders of member states. The proposals largely reflect ideas and needs outlined by the Visegrad Group countries in a joint memorandum to the EC last year.

"EC leaders' position that, besides other countries joining, they also regard Hungary's joining a goal of their own, is of great significance. This reflects the priority European integration enjoys in Hungarian government policy. We think if during the EC's expansion all countries wishing to join are judged on the basis of their political and economic performance, hungary has a very good chance of swiftly meeting membership terms.

"Hungarian foreign policy wants to fully use the new possibilities to expand and intensify political dialogue and cooperation with the EC offered by the European Council's present statement. EC leaders have passed important decisions about accelerating the implementation of the association accords in certain spheres of trade but improving our market access will need further mutual efforts with the EC and its member states.

"The fact that while it had to discuss serious international political and economic issues, the Copenhagen EC summit approved this important document and opened perspectives to Hungary's joining the EC, confirms the Hungarian government's European policy as a political signal and an economic reference."

Hungarian Way Publishes Draft Program

AU2506100793 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Jun 93 p 3

["o.t.g."-signed report: "Istvan Csurka 'Elucidates' Himself—Excerpts From the Draft Program of the Hungarian Way Groups Movement"]

[Text] The draft program of the Hungarian Way Groups Movement will appear in today's edition of the MAGYAR FORUM public life weekly newspaper over three pages. It discusses the ideas of the movement that bears the name of Istvan Csurka on Hungary's future in eight chapters, from which we publish excerpts here. On its first page, the weekly newspaper also notes that the next edition of the MAGYAR FORUM, which will appear on 1 July, will carry an article by Csurka entitled "Elucidation," and the detailed program of the Hungarian Way Movement's national meeting to be held on 3-4 July will also be printed.

The first chapter of the draft program defines the goals in the interest of which it is necessary to reconstruct the state based on a new system of ideas. According to the program, in the interest of the change of regime, it is vitally important to reorganize relations between the state and society, and the state and the economy. To achieve this, a new constitution is needed, first of all, that will have to stop the possibility of the government and local governments pointing the finger at each other and passing the responsibility to each other, it has to guarantee the citizens' equality of chances in the areas of economy, information, and culture, and it has to formulate the laws on the provision of justice and other issues which will finally close the Soviet era once and forever....

The unclear relationship between parliament and the executive power has to be settled: Parliament is the supreme power, the government is answerable to it and, at the same time, the government has to be invested with all the rights that are necessary for successful governing.

The draft goes on to talk about the fact that there is a need for organic national culture and national public information service. The program demands the establishment of newspaper and book publishing organizations that serve the nation's needs and represent its interests, while it believes that supervisory committees invested with broad authority have to be elected over the national information institutions (MTI, Hungarian Radio, and Hungarian Television).

In connection with education, the program says, among other things, that higher education institutions have to be given much more state support and they should accept as many students as possible.

The program states that national goals cannot be implemented without a rational reorganization of the economy.... Today, our economy is burdened with lack of resources and capital.... In the current situation, the main reason for this is the overwhelming burden of the debt that was accumulated by the previous regime.... It has to be accepted as a fact that any kind of announcement on refusing to repay the debt will immediately put the economy on the brink of disaster, but it also has to be seen clearly that the maintenance of the current conditions will also have the same result. Therefore, the first step is to design new techniques of management.... Only expanding national product and labor can create the basis for advancement and for the balance of supply and demand which is necessary for the existence of the market. The program states: Rather than the balance of the budget or of payments, it is production and consumption, and people using their money which are in the center of the economic policy. In connection with taxation we can read that it is necessary to establish a rational tax system and credit system for entrepreneurs. The tax authority has to have real powers to control and investigate.... A so-called tax police should be set up with special orders which, in addition to investigating the assets that disappeared during the transformation and capital acquired through non-payment of taxes, will also detect tax fraud in its process.... The new government will face a difficult situation in 1994. It will certainly not be able to annul a large amount of privatizations that were carried out in a fraudulent way.... The only just method seems to be tithing the assets of the chief culprits. The institution of "asset tithe" has to be introduced. Parliament should pass a law on asset tithe.... The law on transformation and companies which is providing a hiding place for privatization frauds which was made by the previous Parliament has to be invalidated.

In connection with agriculture, the program states that arable land has to remain Hungarian property, and the exposed position of small producers has to be ended through creating a strict order in wholesale state purchasing and in sales. The writers of the draft hold the view that the fate of the agriculture is one of the fundamental issues of Hungarian future.

We can read some general statements in the eighth chapter, for example, the success of Hungarian foreign policy depends on whether we are be able to establish a democratic constitutional state in the mother country. The Hungarian Way finally states that it wishes to establish a fundamentally new political system.

New Party To Vote Against Budget Proposals

AU2506112693 Budapest MTI in English 0907 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, 23 Jun (MTI)—The new breakaway parliamentary group of one-time ruling coalition Hungarian Democratic Forum MPs, Hungarian Justice, decided late on Tuesday to oppose the government's supplementary draft budget and VAT laws, Istvan Csurka told the press.

Asked how the decision fitted the faction's pro-government line, the writer-politician said the new MP group's intention not to join either the opposition or the independents did not necessarily mean always supporting government proposals.

Csurka was not surprised at his Tuesday exclusion from the HDF by the party's Ethics Committee because he felt the National Board had already done so. He added he could not be accused of double party membership since he had started organizing the Hungarian Justice Party (HJP) only after the National Board decision.

Csurka confirmed the HJP founders' list as it appeared in Tuesday newspapers, including MPs Arpad Miklos, Janos Toth-Kurucz, Jozsef Kelemen, Lajos Horvath, and Istvan Csurka, along with publicist Elemer Farkas, Csurka's son and Jeno Laszlo, ex-chief of the Defence Industry Office closed down earlier.

Walesa Interviewed on Current Political Events

WS2406133093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Meeting of President Lech Walesa with radio and television journalists at Warsaw Television studio on 22 June—recorded; journalists identified via screen caption]

[Text] [Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen: I have asked for a meeting in order to present the situation in the country, to present my point of view. I do not think I have to tell you that the country has once again found itself at a fork in the road; that an awful lot depends on what we will manage to do within these three months. I believe that the country needs wisdom, and first of all concreteness. While I am watching the Polish political scene and the clarity of this scene, while I can see that history may repeat itself, I simply must present the people with a concept that is clearer and which envisions reasonable solutions.

I have asked the chairman to relay the whole of this meeting, so that people in Poland can see how we are handling the country's affairs and how we perceive its problems. Therefore, please show the people that this group is aware of what the people are interested in, of what they are striving for, and that it is aware of their problems.

[Janusz Zaorski, chairman of Radio and Television Committee] A small correction, Mr. President. We may sit here as long as a few hours; in that case, broadcasting the entire meeting is not possible. However, we have a 45-minute slot right after the "Wiadomosci" newscast, and so our discussion will reach the whole of Poland; also, thanks to the satellite program, it may be received throughout Europe.

[Leszek Spalinski] Mr. President, your proposal of establishing a bloc in support of reforms is, indeed, interesting. However, if you look at what has been happening in the country so far, it arouses some fears. Namely, various people in the various circles that you are interested in will form the bloc. Then they will receive deputies' seats, and the Sejm will simply start splitting up. Are you not afraid that we will return to the situation that we had before? An electoral law has been passed which was supposed to stop small insignificant parties from entering the legislature. In practice, however, the parties may really find their way to the legislature. By speaking with various people, do you get any guarantee whatsoever that those people will really form the bloc, not only before, but also after the election? That they will represent a certain consistent policy?

[Walesa] I am trying to make the Polish political scene clear; clear before the election, as well as lucid and precise after the election. Of course, for the time being we are not talking about the cause of your concern. For the time being, I have divided the Polish political scene and the importance of matters into four subjects. Poland is governed badly; consequently, I am asking the people who know how to govern, people who are in local administrative bodies, to unite and enter the legislature, with the exclusive task of improving the managing of the country, handling such issues as the new territorial division, and so on.

Another important subject is agriculture. I am asking those farmers who understand that they must be precise, clear, and convincing, to unite and disregard all divisions. You must prepare a list of not more than 20, or 21 items, and run in the election with concrete bills, with various items that you are going to handle. This is the second element of the Polish reality, which must be presented before the election clearly and precisely and which must be put into effect after the election.

The third issue that I believe is necessary for Poland is the question of employees. Employees, do not get involved in managing, do not get involved in other things; just prepare concepts that are most necessary for employees, enter the legislature, and immediately start implementing the concepts. You will then deal with bills and other proposals which will be your specialty and which will be settled at the beginning. I am saying the same to businessmen. Why are you bribing politicians? Why do you not have a representation? You can bribe politicians. Why do you not want to enter the legislature with a program of your own, with your bills, with your people? Why do you not want to enter the Sejm where you can solve your problems yourselves?

Toward the end of the election campaign, I will ask that lists of around 20 items be prepared. These matters will be dealt with by those who enter the legislature, who are elected. At election meetings, the order of the items on the lists can be discussed. At those meetings it will be possible to replace certain items. For example, a farmer may show up and say: Hey, I am not interested in this item. I am a farmer, so please include such and such an item; please prepare such and such a legal solution, then I will vote for you.

I am reiterating again: Poland needs fast action, so that the people will know that this time they have not been taken in, this time I know those 20 items by heart and I can see which ones are implemented, and how many are still to be done. Once they have done everything, they may stop taking money; then they can go on their leaves, because the task has been... [pauses] For the first time the pre-election task may be performed, and performed faster at that.

[Iwona Maruszak] Mr. President, the public media carry information about your concept every day. Yesterday, at the best possible moment, the television broadcast ten minutes from the Belveder. Today, as we have heard, the television will relay again, surely at the best time, a 40 or 50 minute broadcast of our meeting. Are you not afraid that someone may say that you that as the head of state, while getting involved in the election campaign, you are taking advantage of the fact that your concept, or the

bloc that you are supporting, will be in a privileged situation? Are you not afraid that someone may say that this is unfair?

[Walesa] I am not submitting this plan for myself. I am merely presenting the idea which I believe is good. I have discussed it with a lot of people, so far no one has said that this idea is bad and that it should not be backed up. There are certainly doubts concerning parties and other things. However, for today it is the best idea that can sort out the Polish political scene. Poland is not at a standstill; Poland needs to be reformed; problems must be resolved here. We cannot keep quarreling. Well, what do you think? Should I dissolve the next Sejm in a month? Who is going to pay for it? Therefore, please stop thinking that Walesa wants to be the leader; stop thinking that I want some advantage for myself or for some group. I do not represent any group; I represent the entire Poland, and I am seeking solutions for it. If they are stupid, just turn them down. I will withdraw myself and apologize. If you can think of some wiser proposals, please present them to me. However, do not waste more money and energy. We can do things more clearly and more effectively. This is my proposal. It is not for my sake. These people will, at one time or another, turn their backs on me. I know how many people I have helped establish parties. What have they done to me? Well, the same will probably happen this time. However, I do not care about that. Let them do this; they can even shorten my term of office. I can go; however, they must first help Poland; Poland will give me a reward. I do not have to get it from politicians who were once with me. You could see what the politicians, whom I had helped so much, did to me. I helped them, and with my support some of them became great stars. However, I am not complaining. This is life; there are various people. Nevertheless, the general national problems remain and I must make attempts at solving them in my proposals.

[Grzegorz Kozak] You say that the BBWR [Non-Party Block in Support of Reforms] is open to everybody. How will possible candidates be evaluated? Will it not be a chance for various good-for-nothings, who might want to take advantage of your initiative and squeeze themselves into the Sejm? Or is there not a danger that people from various parties that do not support you, will want to take advantage of this all, enter the Sejm, put aside the reforms proposed by you, and pursue the policy of their own parties?

[Walesa] The committee which has initiated the bloc will organize a meeting with the people who are really interested in the particular subjects; they will establish their organization, and they will also establish voivodship organizations. From that moment on I can no longer influence the whole idea. The people can even protest that I am meddling too much in their affairs. I do not want to meddle and I do not want to take part in it. I only want to sort out the Polish problems wisely by creating a certain chance and by starting certain processes. Everything else is beyond me. Of course, when I have the time, I will watch how this all is implemented; I will check whether some help is needed. It is possible that I will also have to assist in implementing other solutions, too. However, I want to stress that I am not doing it all for myself; I am doing it for certain subjects and groups; I am doing it so that all voivodships take advantage of this, and not only the Warsaw Voivodship. I think that these groups should really want this victory. I would like each of these groups to be able have 100 deputies in the legislature. It would be an ideal situation. Employees—100 deputies; employers—100 deputies; management—100 deputies; agriculture—100 deputies. Of course, there can be Christian farmers and communist farmers; there can be union farmers and Center Accord farmers. I am not interested in that. Do whatever you want to; however, the 20 items, which you have promised the people to implement, will be watched by me; they must be implemented so that the people will be satisfied.

[Marek Markiewicz, chairman of the National Council of Radio and Television] Do you perceive the political scene as it has already been suggested; that is, these are against the president, those are with the president; or the president's people and people who are against the president. This is a habit of journalists of some kind. It leads, however, to one question related to your thesis. You said that Poland is poorly governed. So far we have only heard that Poland is in such a situation because there are scandals, nomenclature people, and so on. Now you say that the country is poorly governed. Why is it poorly governed and who governs poorly? If we assume that it is the government that governs poorly, is the bloc against the government?

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, you can certainly reason in this way. However, I will say something else. I am a practical man; if someone drives a cart and the horse is bad, and if he cannot drive it even though he is a good driver, it means that the cart does not go smoothly. Poland is governed badly because people do not identify themselves with parties; Poland is not satisfied because there is no solidarity; Poland is dissatisfied because an ordinary man is very quickly punished by a prosecutor, whereas the investigation of big scandals is postponed until after the election. This is a scandal! I am waiting for the justice minister; if he says that we cannot do this now, only after the election, then I can tell him: after the election there will be immunities and we will not be able to do anything. When I speak about bad governing, I say it because the governing are not corrected by the governed. This very fact proves that we are badly governed. Everything else can be explained: this cannot be done, the reforms are difficult, this is hard to understand. However, this is of secondary importance. First of all, we govern badly because we and the people do not understand each other. Because the president is... [pauses] The effigy is burned, so he governs badly. We can discuss the reasons for this state of affairs.

[Aleksandra Frykowska] Poland suffers from the lack of authorities, celebrities. You are putting your authority into a basket with BBWR written on it. Are you not

afraid that if, after the election the BBWR representatives get to the Sejm, this does not come off, your authority will suffer? Another question. Who is going to finance the election campaign of the BBWR?

[Walesa] I want to withdraw from it within ten days because I do not want to have anything to do with the finances. Well, I will not give a penny. This is obvious for me. Why should I give money to businessmen? Why should I give money to Siec and unions? Why should I give money to farmers? No way. I am merely starting certain processes and then withdrawing, and they will not get a single penny from me. I also do not think that they are going to give me any money. This is one thing. Now, you were talking about losing my authority. No. I am saying for a thousandth time: I will not allow myself to be taken aback in any situation. As long as I am here, in this capacity, nobody is going to take me by surprise; I will always have one more card up my sleeve. This is what I am the president for. So, also in this area I have very concrete solutions and ideas. I do not intend to lose anything. This is one thing. Second, I am merely starting an idea. What is more, I have told you that nobody will leave this place until he agrees with my concept. If someone does not agree, then he is going to have another 45-minute talk with me. Then he must agree. We will do what was done during a certain election: Do not get anything to eat until you understand. [laughter] Therefore, this cannot be lost. That is one thing. Second, I am not taking part in it. I am leaving the last cartridge; there is such a cartridge, and I have been told a few times to shoot it, as far as a presidential party is concerned. If all this does not come off, I will take it into my own hands; there will be limitations. Really, I can do this. However, how does this relate to my concept? How does this relate to the system? We really won without any shots, with finesse; we won a chance of development. I would like a greater victory, greater than that. I hope that our beloved country will eventually see the right things done, in name and in deed. I also hope that I will accomplish that. However, I will not accomplish this for my own sake. I will protect myself from a guy like Walesa; I will give him a system, but not give it to him in the way you suggest. Unless I have no choice. I want to distribute checks, money; I want to distribute them, so the people will be happy. However, If I have to distribute blows, I will not chicken out. Nobody will make another Yugoslavia out of Poland. I will not allow that, even if I were to be hanged; I will myself defend the country and the order. I am doing it for Poland; however, I have one more cartridge that can be shot. I am doing it not out of ambition, but because it may be the last resort. I hope I will not have to use the last cartridges. Therefore, I am asking of you: This is our country. How beautiful and rich the country is! How badly it is governed! It does not solve the most important issues; it does not bloc things that can be blocked. How can we not have introduced stamping some of the imported commodities? Trillions of zlotys would have been gained for pensioners. Why should the pensioner be happy? How are you interpreting the fact that Walesa did not sign the new law on pensioners? Could anyone tell me? I had no right to sign it, even though I realize how poor pensioners are. However, I would have to cut the law into two parts: One thing is pensions, but quite another thing is additional money for pensioners who once worked in certain sectors. Also in your company the additional money is enormous, greater than those of miners. You know that. Now, could I do this?

This is just the way it is. At least, this is what they told me. In this country, there are indeed many cases in which cronies arrange sweet deals for each other and for the whole industry. One should not have taken away the small amount of money from those who deserve it and give it to the rich. I could not do that. Am I sorry about this? Of course, I am. Do you think I do not want to give money to people who rummage for bread in the trash? But how am I supposed to do this when the smart legislature decided to handle it in one fell swoop by passing only one law? This prevented me from giving a raise and branch payments to those who deserve them. Justice must finally prevail. So I am again asking you for the facts, because you have to be just like priests.

[Adam Brodziak] First, let me rebut one of your statements, Mr. President. The last branch privilege that we had—which freed us from paying for radio and television at home—was canceled by the law on radio and television.

[Walesa, interrupting] Wait a minute. It just so happens that I wanted to restore it back again. This is exactly what I wanted to do but was not able to. No one has money to burn right now. However, miners, who are affected by various professional diseases, really need those branch payments. Well, maybe you also do—for example, your cameras may be smoking—but I could not do this. The president cried when signing that legislation, but had no other solution. Otherwise, all of the old absurdities would come roaring back again.

[Brodziak] While watching your policies, I discovered that your tactics are just perfect. What I have in mind is that you usually set some dummy objective, convincing everyone that this is what you are going after. And in the meantime, you reach your real goal. This has happened several times. Is it also the case with your BBWR initiative? The new coalitions are beginning to emerge, which is one of the first results that you received on the political scene. We already have the electoral blocs of rightist parties, left-centrist parties, and the Christian national bloc. Obviously, their emergence is prompted by your initiative. My question is: What would you perceive as the BBWR's success? You said that it might win all of the 400 legislative seats. What if it will be only 10?

[Walesa] It is impossible under the electoral law, to begin with. Besides, I do not want to win anything either for myself or for some grouping. I am just seeking the best solutions for Poland. If I miss, correct me, if I hit—support me. I am not angry with your exposure of my

mistakes, because the entire country and all the parties altogether are at stake—not a specific party. But when I came up in favor of the left leg [Walesa's reference to leftist parties] I was accused of having links with the Communists and even intelligence services. In a normally functioning country, you cannot force anyone in the underground and let him do a mole's job. Aware of their differences, the president, however, should rally forces of all the orientations around him for a common endeavor. We should strive to achieve normalcy.

[Barbara Sieradzka] What do you think we should currently expect from the European Community? What can Poland offer it?

[Walesa] We still are preoccupied with our contribution to the downfall of Communism. But the world is short on sentiments—it is driven by different interests. Poland, deeply engaged in politics and disputes, fails to pursue its own national interests. Let us face it—the West makes more money off us than we do off it. Look at our streets and stores, and look where our Polonezes and Fiats are. The West takes advantage of our poor governance. If we tell them: Listen, buddies, you earn $80 here, while we can barely make $5, so we can block your $80 and somehow get by with our $5. It can be done. And this is not blackmailing the West. These are the facts. The West is taking advantage of our mess resulting in inefficient customs regulations, lack of measures protecting domestic products, such as butter, grain, etc. This is caused by poor management. Poland will be a good partner for the West if we are wise and well administered. They will have their way if we do not help ourselves.

[Sieradzka] How do you plan to enhance crime-combating measures?

[Walesa] There are no problems with bringing small fries to account. But I hear people say: Short on money, short on his term in office. I hate it, and I want to get them. But this is very hard—there are some connections within the branches and back-door agreements. Though not so widespread, these facts impede our progress and show that not all the people are equally treated. I will do my best to make order and restore justice here; but my efforts are being blocked so far. I suspect some groups of conducting the Italian strike, heel-dragging, filibustering. But I am saying to them: The BBWR is going to win, and I will get you and expose the situation to all the people. And then, I will ask them why they were putting spokes in our wheel and quenching enthusiasm of the society. Let me, however, remind you that in a democratic system, the president can do little more than just shout and call someone on the carpet. I do not like it and am not in the Mafia. I want your support for me and justice for the country. However, all my efforts are in vain because in the crucial points, there is something that I cannot crush. But I will crush it anyway.

[Jan Jankowski] Before you approved the new electoral law, you expressed your concern that this may result in pushing much of the political activities to the streets. Unfortunately, life has proved your anxiety. Do you not fear that both your and many other sound political initiatives will be crushed against the street curb?

[Walesa] I have told you already that I will not let it happen—even if I have to pay dearly for that. I will not let anyone set fire to the Polish house, even if this would require me to do the dirtiest job. This is why am asking you not to go too far. Just look at... Yes, it is good that you have brought it up. Just look at this. The former interior minister, knowing that the route [of his June 4 demonstration] runs through the area of sport events frequented by children, nevertheless, orders that it go that way. In this case, my advise to him would be to remove all the traffic signs. You can argue about the fact that someone blocked the way, but it is unacceptable for senior politicians and the political elite to have this kind of attitude. Was there anyone who wrote about this? Are you afraid of former ministers? They will burn your house and it will be you fault. For my part, I will do my best to eliminate such incidents. Demonstration is a good thing, but democracy requires me and everyone else to respect the law. I will manage to maintain order—just have no doubts about that. As the president, responsible for the state's security, I will preserve the security without going beyond the law. This is something what I get paid for. Besides, I have eight children and want them to be secure. You can change the president. This, however, will be done legally and not under pressure from the street.

[Marek Kassa] You already attempted to implement several programs in the past, such as the 28-item program in 1980. Afterwards, you came up with a program in 1989, and the next one during your presidential campaign. As you said yourself, not much came out of those programs. Do you not think that the same may happen again? Fearful of your initiative's failure, people already are reluctant to get involved in it.

[Walesa] Honestly, I would never expect such a question from this kind of audience. You seem to forget that I was the only presidential candidate who asked the people not to demand any program from me, because Poland does not have the presidential system. You can only demand from the president to work hard, to be honest, etc. It is the parties, the legislature, and the government that can have programs. The president would be forced to conduct a coup in order to carry out his own program. But the people's answer was: Is he crazy? Does he want to win the election without a program? Thus, you forced me to announce my program, which I knew would never be implemented. In a democratic state, the president has the chance to enforce his program in only one case: There must be a presidential system. As it is, the media raise a hew and cry every time the prime minister pays me a visit, lamenting that I try to overwhelm the government and put it on leash. Did you not write so? Each of my slightly more decided moves was immediately seen as directed against the government. So, please do not tell me that I have no program. And it is your task

to explain it to the people that Walesa was right when he said he could have no program, and that he only said how he would execute his powers. As for the 21-item program, at those times, we started on the road to freedom by demanding more bread. Ostensibly, we wanted more bread, but in fact, we wanted to change a system. The collapse of the past system automatically recast the overall situation, which propelled me—the one who was at the head of those demands—upward to my present position. Could I have made these demands only to refuse to satisfy them later? After all, it was me who put his signature under the 21 items in 1980 and 1989, and who made possible the round-table talks and the transfer of power. Your reasoning is probably as follows: He elbowed his way to the top of power, forgot about the society and robbed it, and refuses to solve problems. I do want to solve them, but it turned out that what I thought could be applied to the old system does not work with the newly-emerged one. I know that the society would not believe me this time, either, because I once let it down. My initiative was intended to make the society believe in itself. Let entrepreneurs from every voivodship put forward their own candidates and programs. So, the society must be confident of its abilities, not mine. My job is just to come up with a clear and comprehensible idea and point to the methods of its implementation.

[Jadwiga Wolska] You are still seeking the best solutions for Poland. I suppose that you are inspired—and maybe not?—by solutions adopted by the stable European democracies. If so, what are they? Do you have any role models among the European politicians?

[Walesa] In the past, I spent many hours trying to figure out which one is better—a boxing or a chess champion? I have not resolved this problem until now. They are both champions but in different weight categories. There is no other Poland, and this is why it must have its own solutions. Which is not to say that it should brush away the European experience. But as the president, faced with the present economic and political situation, I realize that some of the French or someone else's patterns, even if very attractive, are inapplicable in Poland. I like, for example, bananas, but they will never grow here. As for the role models, I have lots of them—boxer, chess player, the Pope (in the category of faith), and many others. I am a good student of Pilsudski, who carried out a coup. But I must say that I improved some of his things [laughter].

[Krystian Przysiecki] I have noticed how the political parties divide the people. If, say, a baker belongs to the UD [Democratic Union] and a furniture-maker to the PC [Center Accord], instead of saying that his opponent is a bad politician the baker would rather accuse him of making bad furniture. The divisions suppressed the people's respect for each other. Do you see any possibility for the grass-root people to accomplish something for Poland? Will the BBWR make it possible for them?

[Walesa] Even if unintentionally, you spoke in support of my bloc. The BBWR, instead of dividing, unites. If both of us are, for example, bakers, we will not look at each others' party membership. Bakers of the world, unite! [audience laughs] This is exactly what my proposal was all about. I am fully aware of all the losses inflicted by the divisions. This is why the BBWR is the only remedy that can eliminate them, because it unites bakers who realize problems in their branch and work together in order to solve them. So, let me again thank you for your big support.

[Przysiecki] But it was not my intention.

[Walesa] Hold on. Let us sort this out. You have just said that people are hostile toward each other because of different party membership. Is it not correct? So I am telling you: if everyone joins the BBWR, this problem will be gone. However, an important thing here would be to make sure that they are really bakers and want to focus on problems of their profession.

[Przysiecki] But how can you find those people? Is it possible to do this while sitting in that villa of yours on the Mysliwiecka Street and having only four or five people of your staff?

[Walesa] Good lord, have you just come in? [laughter]

[Przysiecki] Of course.

[Walesa] I already told you what everything will look like. A committee emerged to activate Walesa's proposal. Next, this committee will ensure that four individuals come from every voivodship. Even though some of them may prove bad or phony specialists, this will be the case only at the initial stages of this undertaking. In any case, these four would include a capitalist, a hired worker, a local government official, and one farmer. And then, a capitalist, for instance, would summon all the capitalists and channel their concerted effort into solving problems. Each of those four would have to communicate their phone numbers and address of their office. And if they prove bureaucrats, eager to gain power, those people who will come to them will immediately unmask them and say: You are not a baker, but a plumber—you are putting bolts in bread. The people will straighten out all the problems on their own. Do you understand this?

[Robert Kowalski] In the spring of 1990, under the slogans of artificial unity and the war on top, you divided those bakers. What happened in Poland today that you suddenly want to unite them back again?

[Walesa] It is easy to expose someone's mistakes retrospectively. Look at the present political scene: everything is under the Solidarity's control with Walesa at the head and with no clout to control anything. We would have built an even worse system than the previous one. This would have been a totalitarianism of the Solidarity. You can never establish democracy when everything—the president, the prime minister, the legislature—is dominated by the Solidarity. This could have even led to a

dictatorship. Though I was the Solidarity's father, I seek no monopoly for the union, and even for myself. I wish to build a system with democracy, political parties, pluralism. On the other hand, every politician, once lost his game, established his own party. Although I was only talking about pluralism, they actually made it. Did I ask Mr. Mazowiecki [UD leader] or Mr. Olszewski [leader of the Movement for the Polish Republic] to do that? In spite of their calls for unity, they established their own parties. I am not accusing them of anything, but asking you to look at how they acted and how quickly they felt themselves leaders. My predictions were borne out by life. Although I was not in Russia, Czechoslovakia, or elsewhere, their political scene also became divided.

[Unidentified journalist] On my way to the studio, I heard on the radio statements by Mr. Olesky [from the Democratic Left Alliance] and Mr. Kuczynski. Based on their statements, I have concluded that the president wants to forge a bloc that would push the political parties to the sidelines, and that it may be a bad thing if he succeeds in this.

[Walesa] He indirectly supported me by saying maybe. I would tell him that if my bloc wins, it will definitely be a bad thing.

[Unidentified journalist] Since we have been reforming our economy for several years now, why should your bloc support them? What kind of reform is this bloc supposed to support?

[Walesa] I agree that it is not one of the best names. I did not want to mix things up. This name emerged even before the war. I wish it could be better than that. To include everything that it stands for, this name should read as follows: Workers, Employers, Authorities, and Farmers, which does not make sense. The most important thing, however, is not the name itself, but who proposes what.

[Monika Olejnik] All this time, you have been trying to attract us to the BBWR idea. Why do we not put it to vote to discover who is for it?

[Zaorski] Excuse me, this would mean a campaign then. I protest. [laughter]

[Walesa] [laughing] No, I am too tired to put it to vote, even though I would very much like to see how many people I managed to convince. Whatever one might say, this is something that brings order and unites. Poland today needs wise and quick decisions, which cannot be made on the streets or during political games. I deeply believe that I managed to shed more light on my moves, and that you will not accuse the president of pursuing his own and hidden interests. If there is something that you do not understand, I will try to explain. But if you do understand, do not spite me. Even the worst of drivers is better than no driver at all. You can discharge the president if he deserves it. But if it is not possible and there is no other solution than to shoot him, then you are supposed to help the driver and ensure that he leads Poland in the right direction.

Bielecki on Ties With EC, European Problems

PM2406111593 Paris LE FIGARO in French 22 Jun 93 p 4

[Interview with European Affairs Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki by Christophe Turowski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Turowski] What is the reason for the wave of skepticism in Poland regarding its relations with the EEC?

[Bielecki] We fully approve of all the conclusions concerning our relations with the EEC included in the reports that the Brussels Commission prepared for the Copenhagen summit. We hope that these conclusions will figure in the final document of the summit. The main source of our skepticism stems from our economic relations, because Poland's trade balance with the Community is largely in deficit, which is contrary to the accords of association that we have adopted with the EEC. Some of our exports to the Community countries are effectively blocked by barriers raised by Brussels.

[Turowski] Are relations better in the political sphere?

[Bielecki] Nothing is perfect. For example, we want Poland and the countries of the Visegrad Group [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland] to become observers at Council of Ministers meetings of the Twelve. If we are really regarded as future members of the EEC our presence will enable a deeper view to be taken of European problems. For example, the problem of environmental pollution, which recognizes no borders between East and West.

[Turowski] Do you think that the EEC has a coherent policy toward the East?

[Bielecki] I would remind you of the view that I expressed at the London School of Economics: The political crisis concerns Western Europe more than Eastern Europe. Western Europe is currently experiencing a crisis of confidence regarding political institutions and a recession. Obviously I am aware that all these serious events were partly sparked off by the rest of us, the Poles, and by Solidarity, and this destroyed stability in Europe. Is was because of us that the simple division of Europe into East and West ceased to operate. It is clear that the complexity of this new configuration is causing the West insurmountable problems. The war in Yugoslavia is the prime example of an ineffective, confused, and indifferent European policy toward the sufferings of thousands of people.

[Turowski] But Poland itself is going through almost perpetual political crisis...

[Bielecki] That is right. But we should not forget that in the absence of a real overture from the EEC our room for

maneuver in the implementation of reforms is considerably reduced. The Polish Government is doing its utmost to stabilize its policy because we are perfectly aware that stability in Poland is an important factor for European security.

[Turowski] What is your opinion of Franco-Polish relations?

[Bielecki] On the one hand we have a long and fine tradition of friendship. On the other hand, it is an unconsummated marriage. Neither economic cooperation nor French support for Polish policy match the level of this historical friendship.

Visas Required for FRY, B-H Citizens

LD2506112993 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1000 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has decided that visas for citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be obligatory from 1 July. Visa requirements for citizens from those countries have been introduced by most western states.

Visit by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus

Klaus Arrives

LD2406115093 Warsaw PAP in English 0901 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—Prime Minister of the Czech Republic Vaclav Klaus arrived Thursday on a two-day official visit to Poland.

After a welcoming ceremony held in front of the cabinet office, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Premier Klaus held a short meeting in private. Soon afterwards, plenary talks began between the delegations of both countries.

It is expected that a Polish-Czech agreement on avoiding double taxation will be signed this morning.

Suchocka, Klaus Hold Talks

LD2406161293 Warsaw PAP in English 1231 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and visiting Prime Minister of the Czech Republic Vaclav Klaus chaired Polish-Czech plenary talks held on Thursday morning.

Premier Suchocka said that both sides agreed that the signing of an agreement on the protection of investments in July is an urgent matter. She also envisaged the signing of a Polish-Czech agreement on border cooperation in the near future.

The Polish and Czech prime ministers also discussed the two countries' stand towards the European Community. "We agreed that the open-ness of the EC markets is too limited compared to our needs," Suchocka said.

Premier Klaus expressed his satisfaction that he is visiting Warsaw. "I want to prove by my visit that Poland is one of the most important partners of the Czech Republic."

Klaus Notes Economic Reform Progress

LD2506141693 Prague CTK in English 1259 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 25 (CTK)—The Czech Republic is an accelarator of central European economic cooperation, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today. At the same time he rejected doubts over the republic's willingness to cooperate with its neighbours.

Asked whether his current visit to Poland will promote liberalising Czech-Polish trade, Klaus said that the Czech Republic was urging that a transitional period prior to the introduction of a free trade zone (between the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary and Poland) be shortened. We have a feeling that Poland and Hungary disagree with the proposal. There is an understanding on the level of the head of states, but the experts, while negotiating, fail to come to an agreement. With Polish Premier Hanna Suchocka we have pledged to persuade our experts to proceed quicker, Klaus said.

Klaus described as huge discrimination against a Czech-made product the current conditions under which Skoda Favorit cars are sold in Poland, because the same number of cars were exported to Poland from the European Community free of duties. The Polish industry minister justified this with the government's concept of promoting its automobile industry. We in the Czech Republic have no such concept for either the car, textile, chemical or glass industries. We would consider it a relic of the middle ages....if our producers wanted to pursue a similar policy with protectionist taxes and duties, Klaus stressed.

Conveying feelings of friendship to Poland Klaus said: It is in our vital interests that our great neighbour is healthy, prospering and stable. I believe that a more stable political system will emerge from the next parliamentary elections and that a new government will receive a mandate for proceeding with more marked reforms so that Poland will become a normal state very quickly, Klaus said.

Klaus spoke with pride about the Czech Republic's political and economic stability. It is a situation somewhat different from other post-communist countries, Klaus said.

Reforms are not a world championship with stopwatches and tape measures, Klaus said. He emphasised, however, that the rate of reform is quicker in the Czech Republic. Far more radical macro-economic measures have

enabled us to live in a more stable environment than in Poland. Privatisation of standard enterprises has proceeded further in the Czech Republic than in Poland. But all the same, it is not a competition and there are no victors, nor any losers, Klaus added.

He praised very friendly personal relations with Suchocka, stressing a similarity of their views on Europe and the world and on bilateral questions such as small border cooperation or environment protection. Klaus also described his relations with Polish President Lech Walesa as very friendly.

Klaus assured a Slovak correspondent that his statement about Poland as the Czech Republic's closest neighbour, partner and friend does not threaten the special position of Slovakia in relationships with the Czech Republic.

Klaus confirmed his opposition to the institutionalisation of the Visegrad Group (comprising the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland). He said he saw the future of the group as a loose association similar to the G7. He said that adding Slovenia to the Visegrad group would make G5.

If we sometimes argue, it does not mean that we need not talk with each other the next day, Klaus said. At the same time he described as very surprising, alarming and not contributing to good relations in the region Hungary's reservation towards Slovakia's admission to the Council of Europe. He asked Polish representatives to convey his view to Hungarian officials.

Klaus said he considered credits the west provided to Russia noncomprehensible. They can not have any effect. Relations should be reciprocal otherwise they are not taken seriously, Klaus said.

Suchocka, Klaus To Sign Treaties

LD2406180493 Prague CTK in English 1500 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 24 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and his Polish counterpart Hanna Suchocka held talks today on cooperation between the Czech Republic and Poland and on the countries' relations with the European Community.

The premiers said that agreements on the protection of investments would be signed in July, and in the near future on border cooperation, including the construction of border crossings, and environmental protection.

We agreed that the opening of Western European markets announced at the European Community's Copenhagen summit is too little for our needs, said Hanna Suchocka.

Vaclav Klaus, who arrived for a two-day official visit today, expressed his satisfaction with the visit, which he had hoped would disperse certain doubts about his relations with Poland. We really do consider Poland our nearest neighbour, partner and friend, he stressed, saying his alleged disdain towards Poland was a fabrication created by the journalists' lobby on both sides of the border.

Asked if the government heads had agreed on a possible common strategy for the Visegrad countries (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary) towards the European Community, Hanna Suchocka replied that the two countries strongly emphasised that it was necessary for the community to express clearly the conditions for admission. The Copenhagen declaration was not enough. It put the Visegrad countries together with Romania and Bulgaria, and we do not agree with that. We believe that it is in the interests of the community itself to open a market for our goods, said Suchocka.

Vaclav Klaus added that both countries considered themselves part of Europe, and emphasised that the perspective had to change. Hitherto the Czech Republic and Poland had occupied a passive position, but the time had now come to say that they wanted to actively participate in creating Europe's future.

With regard to economic cooperation between the two countries Klaus said that as they had both previously lived in the irrational world of the planned economy, the ensuing economic relations between the Czech Republic and Poland were still irrational today. It was no longer feasible to return to the previous amount and structure of trade between the two countries without returning to a planned economy. It was now up to Czech and Polish firms to discover suitable trading relationships, and the governments were doing everything they could to help. If Polish consumers do not want to buy Czech-made Skoda Favorit cars, then I am sorry. But as premier I cannot order them to buy Skodas, even if I think not to buy them is a terrible mistake.

Later today, the Czech Republic and Poland signed an agreement preventing double taxation.

Solidarity Chairman Statement on BBWR

LD2406172593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, during this news bulletin, we have received a statement in connection with the statement by presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski, after the meeting between Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski and President Lech Walesa, that has been carried by the PAP wire.

The Solidarity chairman made the following statement. Here is the text:

Today, I talked to President Lech Walesa about, among other things, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR]. I do not know how Andrzej Drzycimski measured the degree of my conviction about the concept of BBWR. However, it is true that the president made an offer that the Solidarity trade union fulfill the role of the representative of employees' side within the BBWR

concept. I will put forward this proposal to the national congress of delegates that will make a decision. I would also like to remind, and this transpires from research, that trade unionists when talking about Solidarity's participation in the elections were convinced about an independent participation in them; I informed the president about this. The talks and research within the trade union were carried out before the BBWR concept was announced.

[Signed] Marian Krzaklewski.

Belveder Top Official Views BBWR Role

WS2506123093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Studio interview with Lech Falandysz, deputy chief of the President's Office, by Andrzej Woyciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] What party will you vote for in this election? Do you have your favorite party or bloc yet?

[Falandysz] It will be the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms], I suppose.

[Woyciechowski] Why the BBWR?

[Falandysz] I think that this is a unique chance for Poland that comes along once or twice in a century. As a matter of fact, this non-party bloc is intended to alter the entire political scene, which is impossible in the rest of the states based on political parties. So we should take advantage of this chance.

[Woyciechowski] Who will vote for the BBWR? From what party will it take its votes?

[Falandysz] I do not know. It is the media and experts who know this better—I heard some public opinion polls had been recently taken. To be honest, it was not the BBWR's initial goal to take the electorate away from anyone. Our intention was to address the Polish silent majority—reasonable and decent ordinary people.

[Woyciechowski] Those who did not vote in the previous election?

[Falandysz] That is right. This was a very sad fact. Hopefully, we will be seeking to reach them in spite of the fact that preliminary media polls predict that we will take some votes from other parties—an objective that we never set for ourselves.

[Woyciechowski] They even maintain that you will claim the votes of all or almost all of the parties, right?

[Falandysz] Yes. One should select the tactics that would help reach this silent majority without poaching the electorate of other parties. On the other hand, the fact that voters so easily abandon their parties speaks about the weakness of the latter. This proves the incorrectness of the suggestion that the BBWR stalls the development of the political scene. On the contrary, it will accelerate and facilitate this process, at the same time exposing the weakness of the parties. After all, this weakness is most visible in the legislature—it took the touch of a finger to overthrow it.

[Woyciechowski] But this was the president's finger.

[Falandysz] Well, it so happens that this was done at the request of the parties themselves, unfortunately—so deeply embroiled in legislative squabbles that the dissolution was the only way out.

[Woyciechowski] What stands behind the weakness of the Polish parties? Why does someone who yesterday wanted to vote for the ZChN [Christian National Union], KLD [Liberal Democratic Congress], or UD [Democratic Union] on the next day decides to vote for the BBWR?

[Falandysz] I think we should ask the following question: Has the modern party system ever emerged in Poland? I think not. At first, the country was under partitions for more than 100 years. There were some parties in the early stages of development—in fact, roots of some of the present parties are still there—but that was not a normal situation. The period between the two wars was too short, leaving no time for the political organization to develop and consolidate. Later, there came the Communist era with only one party in power. It is only today that this process can continue normally. In my opinion, those party bosses who think the present alignment is permanent make a big mistake. No, this is only a beginning.

[Woyciechowski] Knowing the results of the first polls showing the presidential bloc with 18-percent approval rate, do you not think that the BBWR is threatened by success, and that, given too many votes, it will find itself in an extremely complex situation?

[Falandysz] This is possible. The president, too, expressed his concern about such an outcome, because he thinks somewhat more quickly and reaches further in the future. I think that it is not a good thing that we have such a lead in this race—this will grate on other parties. After all, we expect their attacks from across the whole political spectrum, perhaps with some exceptions. Besides, in terms of sports, I would compare this campaign to a 400-meter distance which requires a lot of staying power to be the leader. I am afraid that too big a lead might wear the bloc down before the finish line. The fourth place would be the best for it.

[Woyciechowski] What if the BBWR wins the majority of the legislative seats and, according to Walesa's previous pledges, will have to appoint its candidate for prime minister and form a government? Is the president prepared for this option?

[Falandysz] I think he is, even though he expressed the opinion that the creation of a government should be a stint of the political parties. It would be a miracle from

God if the BBWR gained this majority, which would then be supported by different interest groups—entrepreneurs, local governments, and farmers. In fact, this is a club of local governments. Agreement of those interest groups to support each other's moves would provide a unique chance to approve a wide range of economic laws. This could also hasten work on the new Constitution and the development of the Polish economy. The BBWR is not a political party, but an electoral movement. The main thing that distinguishes it from a party is that the latter has a program for everything. If the situation warrants, say, to take the power in the country, it should know what to do with it. All the parties tend to resort to special agencies and a system of repression. Instead of a single and coherent program, however, the BBWR has several programs. Compared to a car, it represents a combination of a powerful engine, reliable chassis, and good wheels. As for the rest, it will be added later, and so far is not so important. In my opinion, the Polish economy is presented with an incredible opportunity. But let us not get carried away in advance by sweet dreams.

[Woyciechowski] You, BBWR people, have repeated in all your interviews that the BBWR is not a party. At the same time, BBWR opponents have been saying: This is a presidential party. How can one distinguish whether an organization is a party or not?

[Falandysz] When a party comes to power, it must have recipes for everything, for all of Poland. We do not have this recipe. We only have economic and self-rule concepts, this is all. This is not a party; this is a movement of electors. It has no organizational structures; this is just an electoral committee; this is something that originated in the masses and something that demands no commitments from its members. This is not any kind of presidential party. The president has said with regard to a presidential party that if the idea of the BBWR fails.... all of Poland is returning to the political stage—an entrepreneur, a village or a town mayor, a worker, and a peasant, although this sounds like Marxist terminology. Probably, we should add a policeman and a soldier for security. Poland is returning to the political stage; the BBWR is not a party. Poland is not a party. The president has said that a presidential party will be his last bullet. If it fails, if the people ignore this and waste this chance that occurs once in a century, then the president will probably start building a professional party. Then, this will be a party, and this will be dangerous, and the president says that this may call into question Polish democracy. However, the president hopes that he will not have to use this last bullet.

[Woyciechowski] This will happen during the election campaign. What will happen when the BBWR finds itself at the Sejm and forms a large parliamentary group? Will it create its own deputies club? Will it not need its organizational structures then—chairmen, secretaries, and the like?

[Falandysz] I think that party structures will not be necessary. I have quite a naive idea of this and please, treat this as an idea put forward by a dilettante. There can be four clubs: business club, employees club, farmers club, and a self-rule club. Why not? They can function like factions. I think that these people will somehow be consolidated by common success and the principle of their activity will be very simple. What will be promoted by one faction will be supported by three remaining factions on the basis of reciprocity, of a deal. Someone might say that it is hard to achieve this in Poland, that there are no guarantees that these people will not scatter and join different parties. This may happen, in a way. Nonetheless, this is not bound to happen. The president's move with the BBWR depicted by newspapers as the entrance of the dragon, has caused the formation of blocs. One has been hearing about blocs more and more often these days. There is a post communist bloc, a centrist-rightist bloc, a reformative bloc that has difficulties shaping up, a Christian-national bloc, a Belveder bloc.... This is progress. We have five or seven groups instead of 200, 20, or 30, although I have kept saying that a scattered legislature will remain Poland's ailment for some time. This is the way we are—unwilling to compromise. The BBWR is aimed at looking for common interests. If we keep to the Marxist theory stipulating that we are to look for deadly enemies, that a capitalist is a worker's deadly enemy, if people keep believing this, we will not gain anything. This is being done by the parties. The parties are dividing people. However, the truth is quite different. An employee cannot exist without an employer, just as an employer cannot exist without an employee. Let us try to find social solidarity, as it once was called. This doctrine lasts, although it has been absolutely forgotten in Poland. With regard to the elections, I want to say that the BBWR's direct support of the interests of a large number of groups has an advantage compared to the parties. Parties exploit the electorate. Elections are a sort of manipulation, even a swindle, the only aim being to make people vote. All kinds of promises are given, often from the scientific point of view; people are dumbfounded first, and then nobody keeps their promises, because parties strive only for coming to power. This is not done for the sake of the people, the electorate. This is done only for the sake of party members, the cadre, people who love this, who specialize in these things, who are strong and tough. Unfortunately, only negative elements of the party system existed in Poland, there were few positive elements.

[Woyciechowski] How will the BBWR conduct its election campaign? When the president speaks on television, will it be easy to distinguish whether he is speaking as the president of all Poles or as the creator of the BBWR?

[Falandysz] I will start by saying that I hope that the president will not abrogate the BBWR in his television speech, that he will not say: I am sorry, I meant something else, let us go on. Speaking seriously, this has been an unprepared action. We must honestly admit this. By

the way, a similar situation occurred before the war. This is actually starting from ground zero. A characteristic trait of the program, because some program must be drafted, will be the fact that this program will be taking shape in the process of the run. The closer we come to the masses the more we will have to take from them. Employers, workers, farmers, and self-rule officials know what this program should be and this makes things easier. This will be a decisive moment in the election campaign. First of all, the campaign will be meaningful, and these are not just words uttered by all the politicians. We will really try to create some program because if the BBWR is to last, if it has to participate in 1994 self-rule elections as an essential force, it is very relevant that the program be shaped up and I believe this will happen in the next couple of months, although we will have to correct it later. This run fascinates me. Things that seem easy and evident often do not work in Poland—they fall apart somewhere in the middle. However, impossible undertakings succeed in Poland. I sometimes use this example, maybe not the best one: The charge at Samosierra [reference to Polish cavalry attack on Spanish positions during the Napoleonic wars] lasted only eight minutes—very short. However, the event has been entered in history books. History has given us these eight minutes now. By pure accident smiling Minister Dyka entered the session hall and, unaware that the voting [no-confidence vote on the Suchocka government] would start so early, changed the course of the Polish history. We must use this chance. Such chances occur once or twice in a hundred years.

Christian National Union Chairman Interviewed

WS2406123093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Studio interview with Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski, marshal of the Sejm and chairman of the Christian National Union, by program moderator Andrzej Woyciechowski from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] What does a Sejm marshal do when the Sejm is dissolved? Do you feel bored?

[Chrzanowski] I do not feel bored, although the rhythm of life at the Sejm has slowed down a good deal. However, the presidium, the marshal in the first place, is supervising the work of the Sejm office. Reports must be prepared on everything that has happened. Besides, the Sejm representations at the European Council and the North Atlantic Assembly are still functioning. These organizations' charters stipulate the functioning of these representations in the period before the elections of a legislature, which is quite normal in democracies. The presidium is still performing its functions of supervising the Supreme Control Chamber, the Council for the Protection of Labor, and the Chief Labor Inspector's Office. The Constitution says that the marshal must be ready to replace the president in an emergency. This means that I have to study a lot of documents because I have the duty to be knowledgeable in all state affairs, although I am sure that it will not come to an emergency.

[Woyciechowski] What is happening in that big session hall which has been the Sejm's symbol for all of us? Are any hectic proceedings under way there or is it just locked? Will it be quite different when we see it on television again?

[Chrzanowski] No, it will not be different. It is locked. The Sejm office is being prepared for renovation. Although this is a short break, we want to use it.

[Woyciechowski] When will the new Sejm gather again?

[Chrzanowski] This can be forecasted quite precisely. This will happen around 15 October.

[Woyciechowski] What will this new Sejm look like? Will it be the same, different, or better?

[Chrzanowski] This is hard to foresee. I have an impression it will be different. There will be fewer parliamentary clubs, although their number will not quite reflect the Elections Law. We have coalitions and if coalitionists make it to the Sejm, they will form different clubs. Besides, there has been a declaration to create the new Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], which existed in the Second Republic and which will exist in the Third Republic. BBWR members may later form different groupings. The BBWR is not a party not only because its name suggests this but also because the speed at which it has been created demonstrates this.

[Woyciechowski] Young Poles have been asking their parents and grandparents more often now: What was the previous BBWR, the one that existed before the war? What is your vision of it?

[Chrzanowski] In my opinion, choosing the same name for the current bloc is somewhat awkward and an adviser's blunder. The pre-war BBWR was a declaration of walking out on democracy and turning to a half-authoritarian system. This is why I do not quite see the point of choosing this name.

[Woyciechowski] Why hasn't a strong election bloc based on the government coalition been created?

[Chrzanowski] For me this would have been something unnatural, and I will tell you why. In multiparty systems, parties are striving to underline their individuality during elections. Later, coalition governments must be formed—this is a consequence of a multiparty system. Each party's individuality becomes the starting point for negotiations on a coalition government's program. The situation is different in a two-party system where each party wants to avoid the risk of carrying out all its promises, and this is why these parties rather concentrate on an individual [as heard], while their programs are quite similar because each party must take into account certain realities.

[Woyciechowski] The Christian Democratic Union [ZChN] will participate in the elections alongside the Peasant Accord [PL]. Why them of all the parties?

[Chrzanowski] Perhaps some others will join us, too.

[Woyciechowski] Are you speaking about a part of the Polish Convention? How real is this?

[Chrzanowski] I think that the situation will be resolved today, after the final talks between the Democratic Union [UD] and the Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD] that will in a way determine their attitude toward the Convention.

[Woyciechowski] Has the ZChN drafted its candidates lists and are all the former ZChN deputies on these lists?

[Chrzanowski] We have not drafted them yet. The first stage is drafting senators lists and reaching an agreement on the procedure of putting candidates forward by the coalition. We must collect signatures for senators first, because the deadline is 26 July and there is no time to waste. With regard to deputies lists, we have been relieved of collecting signatures and the deadline is 10 August. Thus, candidates are currently being chosen in provinces and then, the Central Directorate will approve the lists.

[Woyciechowski] Are all the former ZChN deputies on these lists?

[Chrzanowski] This is hard to say precisely. I am sure that the majority of former deputies will be included on the lists. However, not all the deputies have expressed a wish to be candidates; there are exceptions.

[Woyciechowski] Deputy Boba was one of the most odious personalities of the former Sejm. Do you know whether she will be a candidate?

[Chrzanowski] Regarding Deputy Boba, the press already knows that she has been banned from participation in the parliamentary club and the party.

[Woyciechowski] What are the chances of the Polish Action [AP], the Macierewicz grouping based on a number of former ZChN deputies, for winning votes of the ZChN electorate?

[Chrzanowski] In my opinion, this is an absolutely different bloc now. The AP is currently acting within the framework of the Movement for the Republic [RDR].

[Woyciechowski] What will the Sejm look like after the elections? What coalitions may be formed there; who will be in the government coalition; who will be in opposition; is there a chance that the same government coalition will emerge in it?

[Chrzanowski] Our participation in politics has been prompted by a sense of responsibility for the state. The state must have a government. There are periods calling for the existence of a broad coalition also embracing political forces that are ideologically and politically different. This happened when the Grabski government collapsed and there was a threat that the zloty would tumble. Then, the Skrzynski government came to power, I am speaking about the Second Republic before the BBWR was formed. The Skrzynski government consolidated the Polish Socialist Party, the Peasant National Union, the National Workers Party, and so on. Perhaps a similar situation will exist in our not yet crystallized political life. Our goal is to prevent the return of communist forces; we will strive for this. This is the political limit that determines our moves.

[Woyciechowski] Is there a chance that an old coalition will emerge in the new Sejm, the one termed a coalition of water and fire, the coalition between the ZChN and the UD?

[Chrzanowski] Judging by what I have said, this cannot be ruled out. I said that we cannot participate in a coalition based on the forces that represent the continuation of the communist system.

[Woyciechowski] In hindsight, how do you assess the coalition between the ZChN and the UD? Were you satisfied with it?

[Chrzanowski] I think that every comparison must be based on the existing realities. In my opinion, the Suchocka government has had the most tangible successes among all the governments of the Third Republic. Our citizens may fail to notice this right now, but we have overcome the critical point of recession. This has been pointed out by representatives of the West; this has influence on the attitude of certain economic structures toward Poland. Losing these trump cards would be very unwise. This is a government based on compromise. Separate parties may be dissatisfied with certain elements [of the government's activity]. However, this is a normal situation in democracies.

[Woyciechowski] What will the ZChN's election campaign look like? Will the slogan of banning abortion be still present?

[Chrzanowski] The problem remains, but after the adoption by the last Sejm of a resolution [on limiting abortion], termed a step in the right direction by Archbishop Glemp, this is not a burning issue these days.

[Woyciechowski] How, in your opinion, will the church behave during the elections? I do not mean the Catholic Church hierarchy alone but also the priests. Will they behave as they did in the previous elections?

[Chrzanowski] In my opinion, the Catholic Church's stance has been depicted very precisely in the address issued at the recent conference of the Polish Episcopate. It says that on the one hand, the church supports no parties, and on the other hand, every Catholic is obliged to make choices in accordance with the Catholic principles, while also choosing the right candidate lists. The clergy will not make suggestions on these issues, but there is a clause in the address saying that the they will

draw believers' attention to the criteria and values; the church cannot stand away from this. The address also contains a passage saying that post-communist secular forces are mobilizing, which will also help believers orient in the situation.

[Woyciechowski] You have used very diplomatic political language. Will the church behave as it did at the previous elections?

[Chrzanowski] I think that it is evident that a priest has the same right to express his opinions as any other citizen. We have other groups, including the Army and the police, that are banned from political activities. However, these people also vote, form opinions, and take stances. This is even more natural in the case of the church that is preaching certain values and moral principles. The church is not going to question the economic solutions of the government. Nonetheless, there are certain fields toward which it is natural for the church to express its attitude. I am sure that there will be no campaigning in churches and chapels. These things will happen elsewhere, just as in case of groups and circles that represent a different view of the world.

UD, KLD Not Forming Election Coalition

LD2406203893 Warsaw PAP in English 1556 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—The Democratic Union (UD) and the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) resolved on Thursday not to form a coalition in elections to the Sejm (lower house) but declared readiness to join forces while running for Senate seats.

KLD leader Donald Tusk told a press conference in Warsaw that such a decision is in the interest of the country, of the electorate and the two parties. "It does not weaken the present coalition. A solitary start comes as a result of an agreement between the two parties, not as an effect of disagreements between them," he stressed.

The Liberals are to begin parliamentary campaign in mid-July with presenting their programme.

Meanwhile, the Party of Christian Democrats (PCHD) announced on Thursday it will not join UD or KLD in the election campaign. The statement was issued by the party spokesman Zdzislaw Bradel shortly after the decisions of UD and KLD were made public.

U.S. Tariffs To Push Poland Out of Market

LD2306211093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] The U.S. Department of Commerce has decided to introduce tariffs against steel imported from 19 states, including Poland. Until now the United States imported $3 billion worth of steel a year. The decision is a victory for American firms which are having difficulties selling their steel. For Polish producers it means a complete loss of the U.S. market.

[Reporter J. Frydrych] The United States has announced the introduction of a 62 percent tariff against Polish steel, alleging that its producers are underselling it. The Ministry of Industry and Trade and Polish producers do not agree with the American accusations and are hoping the decision will be changed.

[Lis, not further identified] We are expecting the reclassification of Poland as a market economy and the additional explanations which we shall pass on to the U.S. Department of Commerce will make it possible for this tariff to be lifted sometime.

[Frydrych] The decision to introduce tarriffs on steel will affect 200 companies throughout the world, including three Polish steelworks—Czestochowa, Pokoj, and Batory. Polish producers will most probably be completely pushed out of the U.S. market.

[Industry and Trade Minister Niewiarowski] The U.S. market is a mighty market. It is a market which imports $3.2 billion worth, that is 12-15 million tons. And the loss of even a small part of that market creates a painful gap, because it might be a market lost for some considerable time. Others are bound to take our place.

[Frydrych] Poland's direct losses from the introduction of the tariffs will not be great. We used to sell $5 million worth of steel to the United States a year, which constitutes 1.5 percent of our output.

Vacaroiu: No Possibility for NATO Bases

AU2506090493 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 21 Jun 93 p 8

[Florin Diaconu article: "Noteworthy Combat Actions and Military Cooperation With the West, but No Bases for NATO"]

[Text] While government, diplomatic, and military sources comment on the significance of the exercises in the Cluj area and the possibility of the deployment of NATO squadrons at the Romanian seashore, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu affirms that "at this time, the problem of installing American or NATO forces on Romanian territory is not in question."

Government sources have provided us with some information, which has also been partially confirmed by the tone of certain discussions I had with command and general staff personnel, linked to the possibility of deploying two aviation squadrons (of which one with U.S. planes and crews) on the Romanian coast.

The same sources affirm that at the recent military exercises in the Cluj area, during which mechanized and armored units carried out combat operations, a modified version of the MiG-21 was tested under approximate battle conditions. This MiG-21 plane has been remotorized and provided with modified board electronic installations following the modernization process under a contract concluded with Israel under which it was converted from an interceptor plane into a ground attack plane equipped with laser guided missiles.

Diplomatic sources, who do not want their identity divulged, answered one of our questions by saying that it is possible for the combat exercise in the Cluj area to be directly linked to recent affirmation of our readiness to participate in UN peacekeeping actions with troops and equipment; according to these diplomatic sources, the aim of the combat exercise in the Cluj area was to test the compatibility between troop performance and Romanian equipment, in accordance with imposed cooperation requirements with Western military forces.

Asked about the possibility of deploying two NATO aviation squadrons in Romania, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said: "No, you are relying on a completely false source of information. I can tell you that this is a routine two to three day visit by a U.S. ship to Constanta which also paid a visit last year, and nothing else. By no means is the problem of installing U.S. or NATO forces on Romanian territory in question at this time."

Iliescu Briefs Press on Foreign Visits

AU2506101193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1146 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/6/1993—President Ion Iliescu held a press conference Thursday, June 24, which he opened with a statement to the press, a review in fact of the international meetings he has recently attended, namely the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, the conference of the International Labour Organisation [ILO] and the Conference on Disarmament, both held in Geneva, the world forum at Crans-Montana, interviews in Zurich with finance-banking and business circles.

The Romanian president said the conference in Vienna was a world forum with special significance, the first of this kind after the fall of the "iron curtain" and of divergent military blocks.

As for the Conference On Disarmament in Geneva, President Iliescu underlined that it was important that negotiations continue, as great progress was made as far as chemical weapons are concerned. He added that a transparence was necessary in the transfer of classic weapons, used in local conflicts in various parts of the world.

Speaking of the ILO conference, Ion Iliescu mentioned that social security was attached much importance, stress being laid on he action of both governmental and non-governmental bodies

President Iliescu mentioned that the debates on Romania at Crans-Montana, that enjoying large attendance, were very successful. They were focused on the difficulties of the transition period and the progress of the reform.

The head of the Romanian state showed that he had conferred with many businessmen in Zurich who had shown interest in making investments in Romania.

The Romanian head of state pointed out the difficulties confronting Romania in its transition to the market economy and underlined the considerable social costs. President Iliescu opined that 1993 was a decisive year for Romanians in point of stopping the process of decline of the Romanian economy. The president mentioned the attempts to depict the situation as disastrous.

President Iliescu opined that the value added tax which should be applied beginning with July 1 was an obligatory step of the transition. Romania's president remarked the foreign trade deficit as Romania exports failed to find the pace, the squeeze on the exchange rate of the national currency and its subsequent debasement in relation to the U.S. dollar, the spectacular rise of prices. Wage pressures boost inflation and unemployment while the strikes add new burdens, the president opined.

Pointing to some encouraging signals of the Romanian economy, the president rejected the statements that the economy stagnated. In support of that, the president mentioned the rises of the Romanian industrial sector recurring over the first five months of the current year as compared with the same period of the last year. The Romanian president remarked positive signs in the agriculture too.

Privatization has recorded spectacular advances as about 400,000 small and middle companies are now

operating, not only in commerce but more and more in production, occupying about 35 percent of the labour force, President Iliescu said. An active role is played by the 30,000 joint companies founded with foreign partners. In the context, President Ion Iliescu stated that the restructuring of the Romanian industry was impossible to achieve without foreign capital.

Romanian President Ion Iliescu said at his June 24 press conference that the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (ethnic political party) had adopted an "incorrect, unjust, disloyal" stance in its latest declaration, European fora were informed about, "which presents particular events as a general rule and draws conclusions on the existence of a discriminatory policy in Romania directed against the Hungarian minority."

The head of the Romanian sate mentioned that "it is a matter of common knowledge that de jure and de facto Romania ranges among the first states in the world as far as the granting of rights to minorities are concerned. Moreover, the Romanian constitution stipulates that it gives priority to international regulations. "I am afraid that not many countries can align to these standards, including our neighbour, Hungary, which has been discussing for two years a bill on minorities and their representation in Parliament.

Romania president's termed this "unilateral approach" of the rights of the Magyar minority "incorrect" and added that "he is sad that the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarian in Romania] has let itself driven into an incorrect policy beneficial for neither the minority in question nor the ties between Romania and Hungary."

Iliescu Receives Slovak Prime Minister

LD2406205893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] After meeting with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Bucharest today, Romanian President Ion Iliescu said that there are no conflicts in relations between the two countries. They contain factors bringing states closer together and uniting them on the path to a market economy, he said.

Vladimir Meciar said that he and the highest Romanian representative reached accord on dealing with the problems of national minorities, for these problems have gone beyond the borders of individual states.

The two representatives will be continuing their talks tomorrow.

Delegates to Crans Montana Forum Assess Results

AU2306173393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1433 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/6/1993—Three members of the Romanian delegation at the Crans Montana forum, i.e. Romania's president and head of the delegation Ion Iliescu, the deputy-director of the National Institute of Economic Research, Deputy Mircea Ciumara (National Peasant Christian Democratic Party), and Viorel Catarama (National Liberal Party [PNTCD]), businessman, outlined to daily CURIERUL NATIONAL their impressions of the Western perception of Romania's economic and political topics and the increasing interest that Romania enjoys not only with the Western countries but also with the former USSR countries, the East-European countries as well as with the Arab world.

President Ion Iliescu underlined that the Crans Montana forum was an opportunity for multiple meetings in a limited period. The talks offered opportunities of debates on many fields as well as of mutual acquaintance with many personalities. Underlining the preponderance of the issues regarding the cooperation in Europe and the European Integration process, President Iliescu said that, as for Romania, it enjoyed a peculiar attention at Crans Montana, especially the stage of its economic reform and the changes in political life, the conditions required by foreign investors as well as the privatisation process.

PNTCD Deputy Mircea Ciumara, a well-known economist, said that Romania had enjoyed the greatest interest among the East-European countries. The interest was general, not only with the Western countries but also with the former Soviet republics and with the Arab world. Among the causes of the growing interest in Romania Deputy Ciumara placed the inexplicable lack of information on Romania in point of economic potential, legislation advantages, customs facilities. The PNTCD deputy identified a shift of interest from Hungary and Poland to Romania. This fact means "congenial circumstances which must not be disregarded," the deputy said.

Viorel Catarama, businessman and a leader of the National Liberal Party, remarked President Iliescu's "absolutely correct" manner of presenting Romania's situation and especially the private sector with its positive traits: pragmatism, proficiency, effectiveness. Romanian delegates "called things by right names" and "did not try to make useless and void propaganda," Viorel Catarama said. "Both negative and positive aspects were voiced and this was accurately perceived by the audience."

PD-FSN, PSDT Establish Alliance

AU2506113493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1233 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/6/1993—The leadership of the Democratic Party-National Salvation Front [PD-FSN] and of the Traditional Social Democratic Party [PSDT] agreed on Wednesday, June 23, over a protocol of founding a Social Democratic Alliance, announced PSDT Secretary-General Bogdan Pascu in a press conference on Thursday, June 24.

The new alliance represents an association of distinct parties but with resembling or complementary strategies and tactics relying on the values of European social-democracy and with no connection with proletarian socialism of Marxist type, the PSDT leader said.

The protocol was signed on behalf of the PD-FSN by Petre Roman, Adrian Severin, Victor Babiuc and on behalf of the PSDT by Bogdan Pascu, Marin Tapurin, Marin Popa.

The protocol will be submitted to the collective leading bodies of the two parties.

UDMR Leader Discusses Minority Problems

AU2506134993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0903 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/6/1993—"The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, UDMR, assumes responsibility for its actions, which are not directed against the majority," said Bela Marko in an interview with the daily DIMINEATA. The interviewee answered in writing to a number of questions some ten days after he was sent a few questions by the said daily and some of his answers are categorical. Bela Marko says, on the one hand, that the UDMR, which he terms "a center-right organization," is part of the democratic opposition, and as such, "it participates in the creation of the state of law in Romania," on the other hand, he says that the UDMR "has not and will not agree with article one in the constitution, which defines Romania as a 'national state.'" The UDMR disagrees with that, as "in Romania lives an important Magyar [Hungarian] community which wants to have its rights to its own language, traditions and culture recognized", mentions Bela Marko. He suggests that notions such as "national doctrine", "sacred right" and "a state created as a national, unitary entity" are outdated, at the end of the 20th century.

Bela Marko maintains that the UDMR is necessary on the Romanian political scene as "no political force in Romania has set itself the task to solve the problems of the Magyar minority of Romania." On the other hand he specifies that the UDMR would not be a political party proper, but of an "organization intent on representing the interests of this community."

Bela Marko was elected UDMR chairman at the start of the year, and his election was in the opinion of the press, a victory of the moderate wing of the UDMR, a political party on an ethnic basis, represented by 27 members in the Romanian Parliament. A number of statements made by UDMR leaders, and especially by Bishop Laszlo Tokes, honorary president of the UDMR, part of them not long ago, fuelled suspicion in the Romanian public opinion as regards Transylvania, old Romanian territory, that was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and about which certain circles are intensely circulating the idea of being Hungarian. The fact that the UDMR does not accept the status of "national state" for Romania, is interpreted as related to the issues concerning Transylvania. A number of political parties asked that no provision be made in the election law to be passed by parliament, on the right to existence of political parties created on ethnic criteria, and ethnic minorities be granted the right to be represented in parliament on democratic criteria.

The Magyar minority in Romania stands for 7.1 of Romania's population according to the 1992 census and it got 8.39 percent of the seats in Romania's Senate and 9.15 percent of those of the Chamber of Parliament in the September 1992 polls. The data of the 1992 census, compared with those of the 1977 one show a natural growth of the Magyar population of 5.5 percent. Tuition is made in Hungarian in more than 2,400 schools, that is 8.5 percent of Romania's schools. Ethnic Hungarians can study, upon request, any object of study in Hungarian, which has been a practice for several decades at the Cluj University, the Medicine and Pharmacy Institute of Targu Mures, the theater institute "Szentgyorgyi Istvan" of Targu Mures, at other higher schools in Romania. Several theaters have sections in Hungarian, and some tens of dailies and periodicals are published in Hungarian. Hungarian ethnics have freedom of cult in Romania.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 25 June

WA2506142093

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Geneva peace talks adjourn until 28 June; international mediator Owen expresses disappointment at lack of progress ... Bosnian Presidency member Ganic warns war might last 15 years, lead to terrorism throughout Europe ... Prisoner exchange between Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats falls through ... Serbian Assembly Chairman Lilic elected FRY president ... Wahlgren replaced as UNPROFOR commander.

POLITICAL

GENEVA PEACE TALKS ADJOURN (TANJUG, Sarajevo Radio): In Geneva, talks among representatives of warring ethnic factions in Bosnia adjourned until 28 June. International mediator Owen expresses dissatisfaction at vagueness of maps designating new boundaries presented by Bosnian Serbs and Croats, calling their proposals "only squiggles on a piece of paper." Bosnian Presidency delegation head Boras said that "certain progress" was made at the talks and that it would be "useful to continue" negotiations. Bosnian Presidency member Abdic announces Presidency meeting with Bosnian President Izetbegovic, who boycotted the talks. (AU2506100293, AU2406203193, LD2406215893)

GANIC PREDICTS TERRORIST ATTACKS (AFP): Bosnian Presidency member Ganic, who voted against sending a delegation to the Geneva peace talks, warns that the war in Bosnia "will be here for 10 to 15 years," even if an agreement is signed in Geneva. Denouncing France and Britain's "anti-Islamic attitude," Ganic says that "one day Europe will be called to answer" for its policy in Bosnia and that an exodus of Bosnian refugees will lead to "terrorism" in Europe. (AU2506102193)

PRISONER EXCHANGE FALLS THROUGH (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb official Dokic reports that a planned exchange of Bosnian Serb and Croat POW's has "fallen through" and talks on the issue have been indefinitely postponed. Dokic says the Bosnian Serbs have received almost 8,500 Croats fleeing Muslim attacks in central Bosnia but that the Bosnian Croats have decided not to release all of its Serbian prisoners. (LD2406190493)

LILIC ELECTED NEW FRY PRESIDENT (Belgrade Radio): Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party and Serbian President Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) joined forces in the Federal Assembly to elect SPS member and Serbian Assembly Chairman Lilic to be the new FRY president. Lilic replaces Dobrica Cosic, who was ousted in an assembly vote on 1 June. (AU2506114393, AU2506104293)

PEACEKEEPING FORCES

UN COMMANDER TO BE REPLACED (TANJUG): French Defense Minister Leotard announces French General Jean Cot will replace UNPROFOR Commander Wahlgren as head of UN forces in former Yugoslavia. Wahlgren expresses surprise at decision, saying it "came a little suddenly" and he was "not forewarned." (LD2406205193)

Proposals on Ethnic Partition of Country Considered

B-H Presidency Session To Resume

AU2506100293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Nada al-Isa report from Zagreb]

[Text] A new session by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency will be held today in Zagreb. This is what Fikret Abdic announced upon his return from Geneva on the behalf of the Presidency members. Abdic said that the Presidency's President Alija Izetbegovic was also invited to join the session from Sarajevo. Yesterday's talks in Geneva on Bosnia-Herzegovina are to be discussed at the session [word indistinct].

Tomorrow the Presidency members are to travel to Brussels for talks with the EC representatives, and then resume their talks with Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg on Sunday [27 June] in Geneva. [Words indistinct] Fikret Abdic, President Izetbegovic is also supposed to travel both to Geneva and Brussels.

As for yesterday's talks in Geneva, the Presidency members did not want to make any statements, except to say that the talks were useful, and that they concerned the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They all obviously followed Lord Owen's instructions not to give any statements.

Izetbegovic Refuses To Attend Talks

AU2506151593 Paris AFP in English 1433 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 25 (AFP)—Bosnia's Moslem President Alija Izetbegovic and his Vice President Ejup Ganic have refused to attend new talks in either Brussels or Geneva on the future of the war-torn republic, the Presidency said in Sarajevo Friday [25 June].

Seven members of Bosnia's 10-member collection Presidency are to meet this weekend in Brussels with foreign ministers from the E.C.'s ruling troika of Britain, Denmark and Belgium.

Next week they are to meet in Geneva to discuss with European negotiators proposals to divide the former Yugoslav republic into three ethnic states for the warring Moslem, Croat and Serb communities.

Izetbegovic and Ganic boycotted talks this week in Geneva with negotiators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Izetbegovic has rejected the plan for ethnic partition as he wants to maintain Bosnia as a sovereign, multi-ethnic state.

Pressure on Bosnians To Negotiate

LD2406101093 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 0900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Bosnia-Herzegovina's collective Presidency is coming under increasing pressure to negotiate directly with ethnic Serbian-Croatian leaders on new proposals to divide the country along ethnic lines. The international mediator Lord Owen said on arrival for the second day of talks in Geneva that there was no substitute for direct negotiations. He said he had also been in touch with Bosnia's Muslim President, President Alija Izetbegovic, who is boycotting the talks.

Lord Owen said the new proposals put forward by Serbia and Croatia to create three separate states in Bosnia embodied many aspects of the original Vance-Owen plan. However, he acknowledged that the suggested maps look very different. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Proposes Division of Sarajevo

LD2406212693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—The center of Sarajevo should belong to both Serbians and Muslims, and the best dividing line should run along the Miljacka River, so that the areas on the left bank belong to Serbians, and the areas on the right bank to Muslims, Serb republic president Radovan Karadzic told SRNA via phone this evening in connection with the latest Geneva talks.

"If the Muslim side and the international community do not want to divide the city center, we are ready to give our part of the city in exchange for security zones in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde. In that case, Serbs from Sarajevo would build their city in either Lukavica, Dobrinja, or Ilidza," Karadzic said.

Having assessed today's talks with the Croatian side as very successful, Dr. Karadzic stressed that an agreement on the confederal system for former Bosnia-Herzegovina has been finally reached with the Croatians, and that there is no going back on this. He then stressed that the issue of territorial demarcation with Croatia was discussed only in broad terms.

Finally, Karadzic once more underlined the need for the Muslim side to start negotiating as soon as possible, because, as he put it, "it can gain more through negotiations than through war."

Proposed Map 'Unacceptable'

AU2406203493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Upon completing today's talks in Geneva, Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament, stated that the proposed political map by [Serbian President] Milosevic and Karadzic [president of the Serb

republic presidency] is [word indistinct] and that the borders drawn on the map are unacceptable.

The offered confederative concept would mark the beginning of disappearance of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. The Muslims would only have one reserve and [words indistinct] incessant terrorist activities, Milosevic's plan would lead toward [word indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina disintegration.

Miro Lazovic emphasized that those were no negotiations, that the Presidency members merely listened to the proposals by Milosevic and Tudjman, and that they are now returning to Sarajevo. This is not only the position of Mr. Lazovic, but also of the other two Presidency members who are both Serbs, namely, Tatjana Ljujic-Mijatovic and Mirko Pejanovic.

Owen Regrets Lack of Detail

LD2406215893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2152 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 24 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen said in Geneva on Thursday that he regretted that Bosnian Serb and Croat leaders Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban had not proposed more precise maps of the division of Bosnia today, agencies reported.

"As yet, there are no maps, only squiggles on pieces of paper," Lord Owen told reporters.

The British diplomat said that the Bosnian Serb and Croat leaders, who agreed on Thursday that Bosnia be a confederation of three ethnic mini-states, and the members of the rump presidency of former Bosnia-Herzegovina would meet in Geneva again on Monday.

Lord Owen expressed hope that Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic would also attend this meeting. Izetbegovic had refused to come to Geneva for the meeting which began yesterday, sending memebers of his rump presidency instead.

The seven presidency members who were in Geneva today will meet in Zagreb on Friday to consider the latest plan on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, REUTERS said quoting the Croatian news agency HINA.

"We shall consider all the proposals that we heard about a new way of looking at the situation in Bosnia," Presidency Member Fikret Abdic told HINA, as reported by REUTERS.

"We are open to all new ideas, suggestions and proposals," Abdic said and added that Izetbegovic had also been invited to attend this meeting.

"Our main goal is to establish peace and implement the constitutional order in Bosnia," Abdic told hina, as quoted by REUTER.

He added that the presidency had urged that Izetbegovic, after the meeting on Friday, travel to Brussels for a meeting with the troika of European Community (E.C.) foreign ministers, and then go to Geneva for the resumption of negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina scheduled for Monday.

Maps 'Last Major Task'

AU2406201393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Statement by Nikola Koljevic, vice-president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic, for Belgrade Radio; place not given, on 24 June—recorded]

[Text] What is perhaps the most important thing at this moment is that the Serbian and Croatian sides, and, judging by the signals so far, the international community too, are firmly determined on the new approach that was launched last week. That is, the new approach on the tripartite Bosnia, in which each ethnic community will enjoy full political autonomy, while the forms and degree of associations will be voluntary, to the extent to which these ethnic communities, that is, these nations, actually wish them to be.

A difficult, but I hope the last major task that remains, is the task concerning maps, on which we are working right now and should continue next week. In any case, it will be easier with the maps once the Serbian and the Croatian proposals are fully coordinated. It will be easier because the talks will (?be held with) one side, only. We are optimistic regarding the negotiations with the Muslim Presidency. Judging by the information that we have obtained so far, our impression is that they will also take part in the negotiations on the territorial issues.

Serbs, Croats Agree on Confederation

LD2406175493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Geneva, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina have finally agreed that this former Yugoslav republic can only be a confederation, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], said in the Palace of Nations in Geneva today.

It is in the interest of Muslims to urgently accept this proposal and come to the negotiating table and realize their rights, Karadzic assessed after his talks with the Bosnian Croatian leader Mate Boban.

It has been agreed with the Croatians that there will be three republics within the framework of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic confirmed, and voiced his expectation that Serbians and Croatians will continue to agree about other issues, too. "We agree with the principle of parity when it comes to the composition of certain central bodies, and Serbian and Croatian views about this are considerably closer now."

Karadzic believes that the next move should be made by the Muslim presidency, which should soon present its

own proposal. Serbs and Croats are in a considerable majority in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and what we assume to be our right we also give to the Muslims. All nations have the right to demand their rights, but Muslims cannot demand to dominate Serbians and Croatians, Karadzic believes.

"We have not discussed in detail the territorial make up of the Serbian and Croatian parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are several controversial areas, but it is certain that we shall not fight for them, and that we shall reach an agreement about them," Karadzic stressed.

Karadzic recalled that since the outbreak of the war, Serbians have been in favor of negotiations with any representative of the Muslim nation. "We do not differentiate between Izetbegovic and Abdic. We shall accept any Muslim who is nominated as the negotiator," Karadzic said, adding the warning that this should come about as soon as possible because the international community is running out of patience. "This time it is clear that Muslims will be to blame if a solution were to be postponed."

Radovan Karadzic announced a new round of talks for Monday [28 June] in Geneva, when the presidency of former Bosnia-Herzegovina is due to arrive.

Karadzic on Talks With Croats

AU2406210293 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Zoran Jevdjovic report from Geneva]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Upon the completion of today's talks of the highest representatives of the Serbian republic and the representatives of the Croatian community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we will now ask Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, about the results. Are there any novelties and is there any room for optimism?

[Karadzic] There is place for optimism. The Serbs and the Croats have definitely agreed that this must be a confederation. I believe that this is now clear to us and to the international community, and I believe that it would be in the best interests of the Muslims to embrace this proposal as quickly as possible and come to the negotiating table to realize their rights and their aspirations.

Therefore, this is now already definitive, namely, three republics within the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that we will be able to [words indistinct]. We agree with the sound basis for the formation of certain central bodies. I believe that, as regards the Serbs and the Croats, peace is very close. Therefore, it is now up to the Muslim Presidency. I believe that the Muslim representatives should come out with their idea as soon as possible. This is a convincing majority in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a legitimate right of any nation [sentence as heard]. What we recognize to ourselves we recognize to the Muslims. The Muslims, the Serbs, and the Croats have the right to demand their rights, but the Muslims have no right to demand domination over the Serbs and the Croats. The possibility of domination has definitely been ruled out.

[Jevdjovic] We can, therefore, conclude that yesterday's talks, attended by the highest representatives of Yugoslavia and Croatia, were successful and (?helped) to find a common language for the (?two communities), and what remains now is the answer of the Presidency of former Bosnia?

[Karadzic] Yes, yes. We embraced slightly altered principles that guarantee confederation of the three republics. I think that, as regards the Serbs and the Croats, this matter has been closed and this will be the case.

Milosevic: Solution Imminent

AU2406152793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Slobodan Milosevic statement for Yugoslav journalists—recorded]

[Text] I think that we can quite directly say that the talks we had, over the entire day in Geneva, were very intense and they represented an important, I would venture to say realistic, implementation of the principles, the approach that we defined last week.

This can only encourage. There is no doubt that we now have a much higher degree of understanding than in earlier talks [words indistinct]. There is no doubt that practically all the participants in the talks, I do not want to discriminate, have now shown a much greater degree of readiness to accept reality.

Therefore, we talked about the principles of organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a very large portion of the talks was about the maps. My general impression is that the approach present in the principles, as well as the approach that can obviously be taken into consideration on the basis of the proposed maps, has much greater support from the representatives of all three sides, than any other proposal for the solving of Bosnia-Herzegovina had so far.

This can only encourage, and I hope that in this direction, the talks will finally yield results. There is I would say a handicap here. Instead of Izetbegovic, we have here seven members of the Presidency without Izetbegovic. I think that anyone who wants peace, if they really want it, must negotiate and must face both the pleasant and the unpleasant in these circumstances, which always have many more unpleasant things that one must face. This applies to Izetbegovic as well.

I truly expect his seven Presidency members, if they are some kind of democratic community or anything else, to finally bring and include this president of theirs in the negotiations with the Serbian side. The crisis in Bosnia cannot be solved if based on the formula that Izetbegovic

cannot negotiate with the Serbian side. Everyone must negotiate. Tell me, why should we negotiate if we do not want to help reach a peaceful solution. This must be applicable to everyone. Therefore, it must be applicable to all three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina. No one can solve all these enigmas that they are putting before each other, except all of them together.

Therefore we expect everyone to cooperate in the continuation of these talks, particularly because it is obvious that the negotiations are heading in a direction that promises a very successful and, I believe, just solution for all three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Izetbegovic, Boras Discuss Geneva Talks

AU2406203193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, talked to Presidency members Franjo Boras and Miro Lazovic over the telephone late last night. Boras expressed [word indistinct] belief that a certain progress has been made in Geneva. It would (?definitely) be useful to continue the talks. In their opinion, [words indistinct] solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina seeks on the basis of the Vance-Owen peace plan. It no longer insisted on the ethnic division or the concept of confederalization of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

President Izetbegovic agreed that the Presidency members continue the quest for a just and generally acceptable political solution [words indistinct] the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina in Geneva. [Words indistinct] such a solution [word indistinct].

It was agreed that the Presidency members in Geneva maintain a permanent contact with President Izetbegovic. It was also agreed that Dr. Ejub Ganic inform the representatives of political parties in Sarajevo of the Presidency's activities concerning the search for a political solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina and listen to their proposals and suggestions.

Boras Comments on Proposal

AU2406210893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Statement by Franjo Boras, head of the delegation of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Geneva; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Basically, we have acquainted ourselves with the principles of the confederal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina is open to all initiatives, ideas that is, that are offered with the goal of a peaceful solution of the accumulated, pressing problems within the framework of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Presidency particularly supports any initiative that guarantees, in this future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, equality of all three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, we will certainly not accept, or we will do so painfully, with a heavy heart, if solutions are forced on us, especially involving territory taken by force within the framework of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ganic Predicts 15 Years of War, Terrorism

AU2506102193 Paris AFP in English 0959 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 25 (AFP)—Bosnia-Herzegovina's vice president said he expected the country's war to drag on for 15 years and spawn terrorist attacks in Europe by angry refugees who have flooded out of the republic.

Ejup Ganic, in an interview here, also launched a bitter attack against Europe, notably France and Britain, saying Bosnian Moslems were "naive" to have expected help from European countries.

Ganic, like Bosnia's Moslem President Alija Izetbegovic, boycotted talks in Geneva this week out of opposition to a Serb-Croat plan under discussion there to divide Bosnia into three ethnic states.

Deploring the "enormous tragedy" of events in Bosnia, he said "the war will be here for 10 or 15 years."

"I don't want to be responsible for terrorism, but it will happen, especially in Europe. I don't want to participate in that," he said.

He said more than two million Bosnians have fled their homeland in 15 months of war that has split communities and increased ethnic tension among Bosnia's Moslem, Serb and Croat communities.

With any attempt now to divide Bosnia "you legitimize ethnic cleansing," he said.

He said "we are very much disappointed by France," and criticized French politics as "wishy-washy."

"The French people support Bosnia but not the government. But the British are worse," Ganic said.

He also said Bosnians had paid the price of what he called the anti-Islamic attitude of the British Government and to a certain extent the French Government.

Expressing bitter resentment over what he saw as the lack of understanding for Bosnian Moslems, he said the death of Bosnians and destruction of their country will be because of Europe, and not the Serbs, and warned that one day Europe will be called on to answer for this.

HVO Refuses Talks After Attack on Negotiators

LD2406141793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes for Croatian Radio]

[Excerpt] Muslim forces today continued their sporadic attacks on positions of the defenders of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in almost all municipalities in central Bosnia. Since 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning they have beeb pounding Novi Travnik with mortars. There are no additional reports. According to the latest report, apart from material destruction, there are no other consequences.

For the first time, the Muslim army and mojahedin attacked the Zepce area at about 0830 [0630 GMT] this morning from the direction of Zenica and Zeljezno Polje. The villages of Gornja Popratnica, Brezovo Polje, and Golubinje came under attack. The defenders of the 111th HVO Brigade returned fire and repelled an attempted infantry breakthrough. Their lines of defense remain unchanged. Several houses were set ablaze in the villages. There are also a number of dead civilians.

The command of the HVO central Bosnia 3rd Operational Zone today announced that it would not attend further talks as long as the Muslim side failed to secure all the necessary conditions for the security of the members of an official HVO delegation. This decision was made in the wake of the death of Zarko Malenic. He was yesterday killed by a sniper as he was approaching Vitez. At the same time, Zoran Mravak was seriously wounded. They were members of the Busovaca HVO's negotiation commission. The two officers had set out to attend negotiations with the Muslim army. [passage omitted]

Croat-Occupied Areas Accommodating 169,000 Refugees

LD2506130393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes from Mostar]

[Excerpt] After a few days' delay, a UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] convoy carrying about 1,000 metric tons of food set off this morning from the border crossing of Metkovic for Zenica and central Bosnia. Late last night, UNHCR officials and representatives of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] agreed that about 400 tons of the food being carried by this convoy be distributed among Croatian refugees in Kakanj, Vares, Novi Tavnik, Busovaca, and Vitez.

The world must eventually understand that we cannot allow convoys to cross our territory carrying food for the Muslims while at the same time these same Muslims do not let food reach the Croats of central Bosnia, it was said today at a news conference in Mostar at which the HVO presented its recently established Refugee and Displaced People Headquarters. We cannot be satisfied with the UN Protection Force's conduct nor with those international humanitarian organizations which have not secured conditions for help to reach the Croats of central Bosnia. If this situation continues, we will not refrain from securing access by military means to the suffering people of this area, Bozo Rajic, a member of this headquarters, said.

Within the next five days, a convoy carrying 200 tons of food is expected to set off for central Bosnia. It is being organized independently by the HVO, while the UNPROFOR is expected to secure its free passage. The press was told that about 169,000 refugees, including 100,000 Croats and about 68,000 Muslims, are being accomodated in the 21 municipalities of the Croatian community and that about 90 percent of the total population of this area requires social care benefits. [passage omitted]

Serb-Croat Prisoner Exchange Falls Through

LD2406190493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Banja Luka, June 24 (TANJUG)—The exchange of Serb and Croat civilian and war prisioners, planned for Wednesday afternoon in Celebic, western Herzegovina, has fallen through, Bosnian Serb official in charge of the exchange Branko Dokic told TANJUG on Thursday. The exchange, negotiated by Bosnian Serb Premier Vladimir Lukic and Bosnian Croat Premier Jadranko Prlic and associates, was not carried out because the Croat side wished so, Dokic said.

Bosnian Serbs formed their own republic in the territories where they constitute the majority in Bosnia-Herzegovina while the Croats did the same in what they call Herzeg-Bosna.

The two sides decided to exchange prisioners on the "all for all" principle at a meeting in the Yugoslav Adriatic resort of Njivice on Sunday. They also agreed to grant free passage from Herceg-Bosna to the Bosnian Serb republic and vice-versa to all civilians who wish so, in keeping with international standards, the Bosnian Serb government said on Monday.

Although the Bosnian Serb military and civil authorities have in the last two weeks received around 7,000 Croats driven out by Moslems from the Lasva River valley in central Bosnia, and around 1,500 Bosnian Croat troops, the Croat side refused to release even the 90 Serbs brought for the exchange from Livno in western Herzegovina.

This position of the Croat side is all the more regretable as the release of over 500 Serbs from Livno and 238 from neighbouring Tomislavgrad was negotiated by the International Committee of the Red Cross in October last year, Dokic said.

It is still uncertain whether or when the talks on the exchange of prisoners will resume, but the sincere readiness of the Serb side to release all the prisoners on the "all for all" principle has undoubtedly been betrayed once again, Dokic said.

HVO, 'Enemy' Launch Attacks on Zepce, Zavidovici

AU2506093893

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 25 June carries in its regular 12-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the Republic.

The report by Adnan Djonlic and Viktor Boban from Zavidovici begins with an passage rendered indistinct by a very poor line, but it then clears and he says that "it began when Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units attacked Zepce. Loud explosions resounded throughout the town as howitzer shells rained down from the HVO positions." The report says that "the HVO fighters fired at an ambulance that was trying to help the wounded civilians. Simultaneously with the HVO attack on Zepce, the chetniks launched a howitzer attack on Zavidovici, while the HVO pounded the town with heavy artillery. There is no doubt any more whose side the HVO is on now." According to the report, "this morning the chetniks are firing sporadically with machine guns at Mahoje, while HVO fighters are keeping the streets of Zavidovici under constant fire from antiaircraft weapons."

Reporting from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the aggressor opened up with his artillery in the early evening. At about 2000 [1800 GMT] the first 82-mm mortars started landing on Bajici and Dizdarusa." He says that "the enemy is continuing to regroup his forces, and the movement of tanks was also reported last night."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "there was some small arms fire throughout yesterday. The chetniks were using M-84 machine guns against Medjedja Gornja, Novalici, Sibovac, and Lukici. It was relatively quiet overnight, and there is only some sporadic provocative small arms fire this morning."

The studio announcer says that Sarajevo is "generally quiet, but enemy snipers have stepped up their activity in Novo Sarajevo and Dobrinja."

Muslims Launch Offensive Near Foca

LD2406203493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 24 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Trebinje, June 24 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces on Thursday launched more offensive actions in the broad region of the eastern Herzegovinian town of Foca, Bosnian Serb military forces announced.

The command of the Herzegovina Corps of the Army of the Serb republic (S.R.) said in an announcement on Thursday night that the Moslems launched infantry-artillery attacks from the Grepko region on the positions of Serb fighters in the Osija and Miljevina regions.

Moslem units also attacked strongly the Gorazde-Foca lines of communication.

Combatants of the Herzegovina Corps, as their command announced, responded to the attacks and prevented the frontline from being moved.

In other parts of the Herzegovina battlefront on Thursday there were no combat actions, the command said.

Scouts of the Serb Army reported to their command that on Thursday the conflicts continued between Croats and Moslems in the Mostar valley. They were the fiercest in the Blagaj and Buna regions in the southern zone of Mostar.

Muslim Troops Violate Cease-Fire

LD2406171193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1656 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Banja Luka, June 24 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem troops on Thursday continued to violate the latest truce signed by the military commanders of Bosnian Moslems, Serbs and Croats which went into effect on June 18.

Bosnian Serb military sources say that Moslem troops attacked Bosnian Serb positions in the areas of Doboj, Maglaj and Teslic in northern Bosnia, Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf) in central Bosnia, and Srebrenica and Bratunac in eastern Bosnia.

Moslems have violated all the ceasefires signed so far, and the fact that two Bosnian Serb soldiers were killed and five wounded after the agreement on demilitarization of the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica came into force on April 18 amply shows that Moslems have reneged on that agreement too.

Croatian-Krajina Talks End; To Resume 6 July

LD2406173593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Geneva, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—The three-day talks between delegations of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and Croatia ended in the Palace of Nations in Geneva today with an agreement that representatives of the two sides would again meet in Geneva on 6 July.

The upcoming meeting will consider an agreement on the implementation of Security Council resolution 802, or more precisely, a ceasefire and the implementation of other relevant Security Council documents.

The RSK delegation refused to discuss a ceasefire agreement put forward today, since it neither had the authority to discuss military issues, nor was it briefed about the results of the work of a military committee chaired by UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander Lars-Eric Wahlgren.

The issue of the name and site of a working group due to be resolving disputes between Knin and Zagreb was not resolved today. In the view of the RSK delegation, the name of this group is of crucial importance, because it implies who will negotiate about what. [passage omitted]

RSK delegation member Dusan Starevic assessed positively contacts with the Croatian delegation. "The fact that we sat at the same table shows that we have started to discuss mutual problems in a different way. We are still far from reaching unanimity about crucial issues, and numerous discussions about formal issues will be necessary before we can start to tackle the essence," Starevic said. [passage omitted]

Refugees To Be Exchanged for Bosnian Croat Militias

LD2406211193 Tehran IRNA in English 1736 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Zagreb, June 24, IRNA—Some 52 Muslim refugees were arrested in Croatia and will be used in an exchange as prisoners of war in violation of the international humanitarian law, a Muslim aid official said.

Imprisoned male refugees were rounded up for not having residential papers and were taken to the remote Adriatic island of Obuljan, off the Croatian Dalmatian coast, an official in the Muslim "Merhamat" aid agency told IRNA.

The civilians will be exchanged as prisoners for Bosnian Croat militiamen captured by mainly-Muslim Bosnian Army, he said.

"But they should be charged according to law, not used for the prisoner exchange... This is in clear violation of the humanitarian regulations," he said under the conditions of anonymity.

Muslim sources told IRNA that many more male refugees of military age, some even with refugee status were arrested in Croatia and "extradited like convicts" to Bosnian Croat prisons.

"Some of them are still waiting in Capljina and Ljubuski, Croat-held Herzegovina to be exchanged for Croat militiamen," one source said.

Since fighting erupted between the Zagreb-backed Bosnian Croat Militia (HVO) and the Bosnian Army in central and southwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina tensions between Muslims and Croats are running high in Croatia.

Most of the 200,000 Muslim refugees who ran for their lives from 70 percent of Bosnian territory captured by the Serbian aggressor in 15 months of brutal war, are being terrorized by their one-time allies, the Croats.

In one incident, a bomb went off just outside the refugee camp 8 km north of the Adriatic port of Split, but luckily none of the 5,000 Muslims was hurt, the attache for refugees at the Bosnian Embassy here, Azra Krajisek said.

"People are frightened for their lives... I would like more media to be present in the refugee camps," she said.

In another incident of growing Croat hatred, a private Muslim house was blown up in Omis, near Split in early June, Muslim sources said. No-one was hurt.

The Bosnian ambassador in Croatia, Bisera Turkovic was targeted as well in a shooting incident a week ago. She was visiting a refugee camp in Makarska, southern Dalmatia when a machine-gun fire barely missed her, embassy sources said.

A group of 700 muslim refugees fled to Pakistan claiming the harassment by Croatian authorities, and more are to follow, according to Bosnian embassy sources.

Muslims accused the Croatian media for encouraging the hatred aganist Muslim refugees and Bosnian leadership.

A recent article titled "Allah Stroke in the Back," in a Split-based popular daily demonized Muslim soldiers in the Bosnian Army. "Chanting 'allah akbar,' Islamic fanatics burned down Croat villages and butchered, raped Croat men and women," it said.

Furthermore, Croatian authorities banned the influenced Bosnian Muslim weekly, "LJILJAN," from printing and selling in the republic.

"This is an unprecedented attack on the freedom of speech," commented the LJILJAN's editor-in-chief, Dzemalutin Latic.

"There is no legal reason for banning the weekly. They didn't like our analyses... This is just preparing the ground for another anti-Muslim campaign in Croatia," he told IRNA.

Granic Views Sanctions, Bosnian Crisis

AU2506104693 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 93 pp 4, 5

["Exclusive" interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic by Ante Gugo; place and date not given: "We Did Not Lose a Single Friend"]

[Text] As analysts unanimously estimated, Mate Granic became minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia as the permanent solution for that part of state politics. After much groping around and appointing Mr. Skrabalo as head of the diplomatic service in order to establish modern organization at the ministry, Mate Granic is supposed to finalize and strengthen the already established standards of cooperation and negotiations regarding relations with the international community. It is not by chance that Skrabalo was replaced by Granic, just like it happened at the "Vuk Vrhovec" Institute. This is not, like some say, about a lobby of doctors but about a similar way of working, and Granic is, after all, a young politician with much more energy and ambition. Granic's first contact was significant for marking the method of work. Moreover, the political situation of Croatia is such that Granic already had a lot to talk about several days after his new appointment. Granic gave this interview exclusively for NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA a couple of hours before leaving for China.

"It Is Difficult To Get Soldiers"

[Gugo] On several occasions, Prime Minister Valentic said that Croatia is practically under sanctions. On the other hand, Deputy Prime Minister Skegro claims that there is no possibility of introducing sanctions. Is Croatia under sanctions then?

[Granic] There are no sanctions, and I believe that they will not be imposed, but there is pressure. That means that the implementation of already decided issues is being postponed, that talks are being delayed.... This, in short, describes the situation that is very different from sanctions. The loan from the World Bank of $125 million was postponed, but I think that this will soon be resolved, as well as some other things.

[Gugo] This situation is probably the consequence of something. Could you tell us what this is about?

[Granic] Although everybody admits that there was no progress in the UNPROFOR peace operation, we were particularly criticized after the "Maslenica action." We were also reproached for implementing standards concerning the protection of human rights, with a special emphasis on freedom of media. Finally, we have lately most often been reproached for the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly the Croat-Muslim conflicts. By putting pressure on us, the world wants to influence the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their conflict with the Muslims.

[Gugo] Bosnia-Herzegovina is a foreign country to us. To what extent is Croatian diplomacy able to influence their local events, without being accused of interfering in domestic events of a sovereign country?

[Granic] In order to answer this question, we should go back a little. Two years ago, when the Croatian people decided after unsuccessful negotiations about a confederate union that they wanted to live independently, Serbia decided to militarily realize Greater Serbia, which General Kadijevic publicly admitted. Unfortunately, much time had passed before the international community realized that there was no Yugoslavia anymore. The Croatian people paid a high price for that. Something like that happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina, too. The difference was in the fact that the Croatian people there were well prepared, while the Muslims were totally surprised, confused, and unprepared for the aggression. This resulted in the occupation of approximately 70 percent of the territory—in other words, almost everything that is not held by the Croats. Consequently, some 600,000 people were exiled through Croatia to some other countries; more than 500,000 of them were Muslims. Croatia is taking care of about 250,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Approximately 227,000 Croats left Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some 87,000 Muslims came to provinces No. 8 and No. 10 who never lived in that area before. It has come to seriously disturb the previous ethnic situation, which causes tension, which is widely used by Belgrade. What Croatia can do is advocate the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan and the establishment of sincere cooperation between the Croats and the Muslims. We will demand the strictest control of Bosnia-Herzegovina borders and consistent observation of all inner corridors. Anything outside that would be harmful for the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well. Unfortunately, recent events indicate that the Muslim military leadership wants to conquer the areas in central Bosnia that were assigned to the Croats by the Vance-Owen plan.

[Gugo] Just before we began this interview, the Security Council approved the resolution that established safe zones for the Muslims. In order to protect these "aquariums," the UN troops can use weapons. On the other hand, they forget about the protection of borders between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they particularly condemn the use of weapons for their protection. What do you intend to do in order to change such an attitude of the international community?

[Granic] One of the primary tasks of Croatian state politics will be solving the problem of the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones and especially the pink zones in the Republic of Croatia. That comprises the implementation of all UN Security Council resolutions and the Vance-Owen plan, with special emphasis on Resolution No. 769, which talks about the protection of borders. We think that if it should come to the real control of the borders, the rebels will be left without logistic support from Belgrade, which would be the end of them. It is also significant in that it would prevent the flow of soldiers from Serbia. For the new UNPROFOR mandate, we will require a detailed definition of what

will be done, along with exact deadlines. President Tudjman, therefore, sent a letter to Butrus-Ghali inviting him to come to Croatia, see the situation, and define things right there on the spot. We will continue the negotiations with the Serbs in Croatia and everybody that wants to negotiate, but we will be very consistent toward referendums on the so-called states and unions. We will decisively fight such actions with all legal means. Within the framework of plans for rebuilding Croatia, we are already planning to rebuild parts of the territory that are not under our control. We will do everything to achieve quick integration of those parts of the country.

[Gugo] Peacekeeping forces have not fulfilled a single promise until today. What should constitute the guarantee that they will fulfill new promises?

[Granic] Croatia is grateful to countries that sent their forces on a peace mission. Unfortunately, their mandate was such that they could not have fulfilled any of the set goals. It is difficult to do anything without the mandate to use force. On the other hand, with the mandate to use force, it is difficult to get countries that are willing to send their soldiers and the consent of the Security Council. Regarding that, we should reach compromises that could lead to implementing the Vance-Owen plan and Security Council resolutions. Only after we have seen the proposal for the next mandate will we be able to make a judgment. For the time being, we have to reach as good a position for us as we can by negotiating.

[Gugo] Does Croatia have so much diplomatic power to reject the new UNPROFOR mandate?

[Granic] The situation is not black and white. The UN secretary general said that there are three options. The first is to give up another UNPROFOR mandate and declare the rebel Serbs the main culprit for not implementing the peace plan. The second option is implementing the peace plan by force, which is not very likely to happen. The third option is to redefine the present mandate. We will demand that the present mandate be improved, taking into consideration what is feasible and what not. The Security Council has, until now, wanted to extend the mandate only technically, expecting that the agreement will be reached. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has significant influence on defining the mandate of the peace-keeping forces on the territory of Croatia. If the aggression on the territory of the neighboring country is stopped, it would make the job of the peacekeeping forces easier. That would be best for us, at the moment, if it would come to the comprehensive involvement of the international community in putting an end to all conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia, but also to the separation of the UNPROFOR mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the mandate in Croatia.

"Russians Do Not Have To Be Bad Guys"

[Gugo] In what European countries will you concentrate your activity regarding the continuance of the UNPROFOR mandate?

[Granic] Things are quite obvious. We are most interested in the countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council and which are the presiding ones, and that is Spain, in this case. Moreover, the views of our neighboring countries also count for the UN. It is interesting that France and Great Britain have very similar views on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and those views very frequently differ from those of the United States and Russia, especially concerning the ways of stopping the aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is particularly interesting. This agreement of the five is a compromise that does not provide permanent solutions and the negotiations will continue. Our estimates must go in several directions. We must see what caused the standstill regarding the military intervention and how it is possible to strengthen the international military presence on this territory and make it more efficient.

[Gugo] Western countries are showing a certain leniency toward the impact of Russian diplomacy. How long will that last?

[Granic] Everybody has some interest in these areas—Russia as well. Its presence does not necessarily have to be bad for us—on the contrary. We believe that Russia can also have a constructive role in stopping the aggression. Do not forget that the West has not succeeded in doing that until now. Inefficiency of the international community allowed ethnic cleansing. We should, therefore, expect a constructive role from those who show goodwill.

[Gugo] What is the possibility of some of the Western powers that have their forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina and aircraft carriers in the Adriatic becoming involved in large-scale conflicts in case of military defense of safe zones?

[Granic] Threats from Mladic can only have a terrorist background and nothing more. If major powers do get involved in a military conflict, it will be because they decided to do so and because they think that all other options are definitely exhausted.

[Gugo] We get the opinion that relations between Croatia and some other countries with which we had friendly relations have become marred. Is that really so?

[Granic] Friends are always friends, and as such they have the right to criticize each other. Otherwise that would be a dubious friendship. I do not think that we marred friendly relations with any country that we call our friend. Anyway, implementing politics is often quite different from what is often shown in public.

"Twenty Meetings in Vienna"

[Gugo] Why did U.S. diplomacy withdraw so suddenly before the impact of Russian diplomacy?

[Granic] I would not say that they withdrew, especially not suddenly. The United States is the major super

power and they will not so easily relinquish their permanent interests. The United States will certainly be present in all future negotiations.

[Gugo] How much influence can the Croatian Fraternal Union, whose president is Mr. Luketic, one of the more prominent members of the Democratic Party, have on the United States?

[Granic] They can certainly make a strong lobby, particularly concerning the shaping of public opinion. Their influence is not insignificant.

[Gugo] What will the Croatian stance be at the conference on human rights in Vienna?

[Granic] That conference is extremely important for us, especially concerning war crimes. We shall insist on discussing the efficiency of the War Crime Tribunal, which was recently established by a Security Council decision. The conference will justify its purpose if it manages to solve crucial issues of the world, out of which respecting human rights in these parts is among the most topical ones. Our viewpoint is evident from the fact that it was us who insisted on establishing the War Crime Tribunal and that we keep insisting on respecting international humanitarian norms. We have actively participated in preparing for the conference and contributed nine amendments so far. We support the principle of universality of human rights without exceptions.

[Gugo] The political blockade of Croatia is gradually starting to loosen up. President Tudjman made two trips in a short period of time. Can we expect him to make more visits?

[Granic] President Tudjman received several important invitations and it is all a matter of arranging schedules. Moreover, Prime Minister Valentic is traveling to Brussels, the seat of the EC, which is also very important. Meetings with several ministers of foreign affairs have already been arranged in Vienna.

[Gugo] What do you think about freedom of media in Croatia?

[Granic] Adopting valid Western standards is our principal orientation for the future. That means that we must have a legal transformation of media and a good law on press. I will personally advocate that. I shall insist, within my limitations and authority, that others also do their part regarding that. I have faith in the future of Croatia as a sovereign, independent, and democratic state with a developed freedom of media and public opinion as a civilizational achievement.

Krajina VII Army Corps Commander Killed

LD2406160693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Knin, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—Colonel Dragan Tanjga, chief of staff of the VII Corps of the Serbian army of Krajina, was killed last night while touring and inspecting army Positions in northern Dalmatia. In line with his families' wishes, Col. Tanjga will be buried in Belgrade tomorrow, the Serbian Krajina army general staff disclosed today. [passage omitted]

Kucan Denies Favoring Restoration of Yugoslavia

AU2406163093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] As we have already reported, Slovene President Milan Kucan and present and former Prime Ministers Janez Drnovsek and Lojze Peterle held a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists on the second anniversary of our independence. President Kucan held a news conference this morning. He described the present political situation in Slovenia and answered numerous questions. Most of the questions referred to the letter that was sent to Kucan by six prominent politicians. Nadja Pengov reports:

[Begin recording] [Pengov] What can Slovenia boast of, two years after independence? President Kucan placed the unruffled transition to democracy in first place, the spontaneous unity of all political forces in second place, and the fact that, today, the world distinguishes Slovenia from the Yugoslav crisis in the third place. This third achievement is not diminished even by recent and present tendencies to reconstruct a sort of Yugoslavia and claims that the early recognition of Slovenia and Croatia was responsible for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

However, according to Kucan, Slovene politics is also going through the creativity crisis that is mirrored in various affairs, obstruction of the parliament, and in the attempt to paralyze the entire state, referring here to the farmers' protests. For this reason, Kucan called upon the political parties to come up with a dialogue on the vision of an economically firm and well-run country.

The majority of questions by foreign journalists referred to a public letter by six [Slovene] politicians who accused Kucan of favoring a sort of new Yugoslavia.

[Kucan] There are no arguments supporting this assumption in the letter. I am, of course, interested in a debate on the basis of arguments. As I have said earlier, I was used to debates without arguments in the times of the former Yugoslavia, when the ratio of political powers supported by military force and the repressive apparatus, were what counted. I did not expect such a type of debate in Slovenia, naturally. It is ridiculous to assume that I would be trying to recreate a sort of Yugoslavia.

[Pengov] Once the creativity runs out, one starts looking for mistakes elsewhere, Milan Kucan said, although he has a high regard for the people in question. Their actions do not diminish their merits for independence, although, as he said, it is not exactly democratic to usurp merits by diminishing the merits of others, even those who hold the greatest merits, which are, according to Kucan, the people and their unanimously expressed political will.

Regarding relations with Croatia, the government delegations of both countries will meet toward the end of this month. The Slovene president expects the meeting to be an important milestone.

Slovenia is interested in joining NATO, but the Slovene interest and the interest of this pact are two different things. Regarding the import of arms, there is no reason to restrict Slovenia, which does not have sufficient means of defense, as it is no longer a part of Yugoslavia. In the import of arms, so far, one must draw a line between the legal import and import through illegal channels.

President Kucan does not consider the excess in Prevalje a (?deliberate) action. However, he firmly believes that all attempts that would unleash the evil should be nipped in the bud. He is worried by the development of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the world agreeing to Serbia growing into a regional military power. He is also worried about the prospects of the war erupting again in our direct neighborhood. Slovenia is not opposed to the recognition of the FRY, but this should happen once the FRY, like other countries, meets the criteria and agrees to succession on an equal footing. [end recording]

Trade Agreement With Sweden Signed

93BA1129B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Jun 93 p 3

[Article by Domen Rant: "Signing of an Agreement With the Swedes"]

[Text] *The trade agreement was signed by Anita Gradin, the Swedish ambassador here, and Dr. Davorin Kracun, minister of economic relations and development.*

Ljubljana, 8 Jun—More than 50 Swedish businessmen and 118 representatives of Slovene enterprises attended a Swedish-Slovene business conference at the Union Hotel, organized by the Slovene Chamber of Commerce and the Swedish Trade Council in Vienna and Stockholm. The most important part of the conference was the signing of an agreement on bilateral trade cooperation, which was signed by Anita Gradin, Sweden's ambassador here, and Dr. Davorin Kracun, minister of economic relations and development.

"We can undoubtedly classify Sweden among Slovenia's interesting and important business partners for many years. Thus, in 1991, in terms of the total volume of Slovene foreign trade, Sweden was our tenth most important foreign trade partner, and first among the Scandinavian countries, since Sweden's share in Slovenia's total trade with the Scandinavian countries was 56.2 percent," emphasized Jozko Cak, vice president of the Slovene Chamber of Commerce. He said that last year Slovene exports to Sweden amounted to $38.8 million, and were 14.2 percent lower than in 1991. During the first four months of this year, we sold Sweden products worth $14.1 million, which was 7.8 percent less than during the same period last year.

The reasons for the decline in Slovene exports to Sweden should be sought primarily in the closing of some Slovene business units in Sweden. Thus, a business unit from Lesnina, which operated as part of the Globmarket joint enterprise in Stockholm, was closed, and likewise

closed were the enterprises Adria Caravan, ELAN Rayon, and Emona Commerce, which also ceased its activities within the Globmarket enterprise because of its parent firm's bankruptcy. It is interesting that Slovene enterprises are importing more and more products from Sweden. Thus, last year they imported $60.2 million in products, which was 6 percent more than in 1991. From January to April 1993, Slovene imports from Sweden amounted to $21.7 million, which is 4.5 percent more than in the same period last year.

So far several long-term coproduction contracts have also been signed between Slovene and Swedish enterprises—with IKEA, Husquarna, and Electrolux AB. In addition to the Ljubljana representation of the Swedish firm IKEA, which has been operating successfully ever since 1985, a representation from the Swedish firm Getinge AB in Halmstad is the only other one in Ljubljana. Soon, representations in Slovenia will also be opened by the Swedish enterprises SKF AB, which sells ball bearings, and the enterprise BOHUSEKEN AB, which has already been cooperating for several years with Delamaris in processing and canning fish. In the future, BOHUSEKEN AB will export furniture, food, and clothing from Slovenia through its representation.

Tourist trade with Sweden has also declined considerably in two years. According to Kompas's data, three years ago there were 26,000 guests from Scandinavian countries in Slovenia, of whom 33 percent were Swedes, but in 1991 there were 3,050 guests, of whom only 18 percent were Swedes. Last year there was also no significant increase in tourism from Scandinavian countries, for which the fact that the ministries of some Scandinavian countries are still advising against tourist trips to Slovenia is also to blame. People at Kompas are convinced that the Slovene government and other competent institutions should invest substantially more money in the tourist promotion of Slovenia in the Scandinavian countries. Another difficulty is that Slovenia does not have any regular aircraft flight established with any Scandinavian country, and this has a further negative influence upon Scandinavian tourist agencies in organizing excursions to Slovenia.

[Box, p 3]

Otherwise, in April 1993 Slovenia's State Assembly gave notice of documents on succession to the former Yugoslavia's agreements with the Kingdom of Sweden. Notice was thus given on an convention on social insurance, with a protocol to the convention and an agreement on applying the convention on social insurance, an agreement on mutual protection of investments, and a convention on avoiding dual taxation, with respect to taxes on income and property, with a protocol. Recently Sweden and Slovenia also signed an agreement on regulating road, freight, and passenger traffic, as a result of which our shippers no longer have any limitations in Sweden.

Federal

Assembly Elects Zoran Lilic New FRY President

AU2506114393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Miladin Manojlovic report from the FRY Assembly building]

[Text] Zoran Lilic has been elected the new FRY president at separate sessions of both chambers of the Federal Assembly in a secret ballot by a majority vote. There were 99 deputies in the Chamber of Citizens to vote for him and 11 against, while in the Chamber of Republics 34 were for and no one against.

The joint session of both chambers of the FRY Assembly, at which Zoran Lilic will be proclaimed president of the FRY, is expected to start at 1400 [1200 GMT]. We will be carrying it live. Good bye until then.

Wahlgren, Morillon Dismissed From UN Posts

LD2406205193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 24 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 24 (TANJUG)—Swedish General Lars-Eric Wahlgren said on Thursday the news about his replacement as head of U.N. troops in former Yugoslavia had come unexpectedly.

"It came a little suddenly and I was not forewarned," the British news agency REUTERS quotes Wahlgren as saying on Swedish Radio.

French Defence Minister Francois Leotard announced on Wednesday that Wahlgren, who has commanded the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia for four months, would be replaced by French General Jean Cot.

Leotard said the move to replace Wahlgren as well as Philippe Morillon, the U.N. commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, was decided by the United Nations.

Sweden has asked the United Nations to explain why it was not notified in advance about the decision to replace Wahlgren.

"We received the news that Wahlgren would be replaced via French television," Swedish Defence Ministry spokesman Kjell Gothe told REUTERS on Thursday.

"When we have received information from the United Nations, we will decide how this will affect our U.N. peace-keeping operations," Gothe said.

The French news agency AFP reports that Morillon arrived in Sarajevo on Thursday. Asked by reporters to sum up the results of his mission in Bosnia, Morillon, wearing civilian clothes, replied: It has enriched me considerably because of the experience gained in the contacts with Bosnia's communities.... As for the rest, it is not upon me to judge.

Morillon first arrived in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in April 1992.

Secret Agreement on Nuclear-Waste Dumping Discovered

AU2506090293 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 93 p 3

[I.L., S.S. report: "Mistake Reveals Poison"]

[Text] It seems very likely that the Republic of Croatia really intends to dump dangerous nuclear waste from Western Europe on the territories in western Slavonija from which the Serbs have been expelled, and on some locations that are now within the republic of Serbian Krajina. This is revealed in an accidentally discovered European agreement on road transportation of dangerous materials, sent from Sweden to be signed in Croatia. The document arrived by mistake at the address of the FRY minister for foreign affairs.

The agreement, which was signed by a certain Gunel Sval on the behalf of the Commission of the Swedish national service in charge of such matters—and under a code name whose meaning we have still not uncovered—mentions a solid matter contained in multilayered waterproof paper bags, and ways in which it can be transported.

This agreement, which is waiting for an urgent Croatian signature, should come into force between Croatia and Sweden on 1 January 1995, when the previous agreement between the two sides expires.

The same agreement, as can be seen from the document that went astray to Belgrade, has been sent to the addresses of the relevant state authorities in Vienna, Brussels, Bern, Prague, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Paris, Bonn, Budapest, Rome, Warsaw, and the Slovak part of Prague. The document does not make it clear whether the governments of these countries have also signed agreements with Sweden on the transportation of dangerous materials, or whether toxic materials from these countries will be arriving in Croatia, which is to be their final stop (since the document does not mention any farther country in the East).

Perhaps this document did not arrive at the wrong address by mistake. It is possible that the West wants to drag the innocent FRY into this. Slovenia and Croatia have been trying for a long time to dump onto Serbia not only the nuclear waste from Krsko, but also from Germany. Let us remember the ingenious arrangement by Ljubljana Bank [Ljubljanska banka] to store "A"-waste from the German nuclear power stations in the Sokol mountains [Sokolske planine].

Seselj Suggests Bulgaria Should Lift Sanctions

LD2406202693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—Dr. Vojislav Seselj, federal deputy and head of the Serbian Radical Party's [SRS] group of deputies in the Federal Assembly, today received (Krasimir Karakacanov) secretary general of the Bulgarian VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization].

According to the assembly's information service, during the course of lengthy and friendly talks, the two men discussed the situation in the Balkans, with special emphasis on the events in the former Bosnian and Croatian federal units.

A high degree of unanimity was reached on this occasion on the need to promote mutual cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bulgaria and strengthen ties between the two friendly peoples. Hope was also expressed that Bulgaria would undertake necessary measures on its part to lift the blockade and the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by the international community.

Generals Move Into New Homes in Belgrade

93BA1099G Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 93 p 11

[Article by Vesna Jelicic: "Generals' Colony in Topcider Heights Beginning To Be Occupied: Jangling Keys in 'Cvecara'"]

[Text] Why the rush to distribute keys while the builders are still working; Gen. Aleksandar Vasiljevic—the exception or the rule; what they say in the offices of the chief of the General Staff and of the defense minister; who is still waiting for their key; tax assessors not interested in rank.

The generals' colony "Cvecara" finally, officially has its first residents. The distribution of keys has begun, in accordance with plans and to the people for whom they were intended. This despite everything and everyone who felt that this was not the way it should be. Despite the decision by the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia in October to dispossess high-ranking military officers who had no legal right to "Cvecara" of their apartments while setting up new, full accounts for others pertaining to what they got. The latest announcement, that the housing would be occupied in late May, came true, but nevertheless it appears that for some reason there has lately been a rush to distribute the first keys. Some link this to personnel shakeups in the General Staff, and to the desire to at least do this before the state commission has completed its work. Perhaps, but not necessarily.

Condition Not Met, but Apartment Given

In any event, 12 apartments have gotten the green light for occupancy, and 10 residents have gotten their keys. We have learned that these people are Zoran Stojkovic, Nikola Uzelac, Aleksandar Vasiljevic, Jevrem Cokic, Mihailo Trifkovic, Milovan Ristic, Miodrag Vukadinovic, Nikola Ercegovic, Dragoljub Perisic, and Veljko Drobac. Milutin Kukanjac and Danilo Zezelj have not shown up at "Cvecara," which does not mean that they have not received their keys.

The fact that Aleksandar Vasiljevic, one of the six generals whose names were indicated by the first- and second-level commissions in their work last summer as "not satisfying legal conditions," stood in line and received a key is an indication that public rumors that the General Staff's decision about dispossessing illegally allocated apartments has been scrapped were not unfounded. Nor have any of the competent authorities denied these rumors. Unless Gen. Vasiljevic is not an exception, because the apartments were allocated at the end of the year before last, and at the time Bosnia was torn by war and Mr. Vasiljevic lost his apartment in Sarajevo, to which the commissions referred in assessing legality. In any event, everything will be clearer after the second distribution of keys, when it is time to deal with the apartments previously allocated to the other five generals cited in the famous October decision by the General Staff: Branko Mamula, Blagoje Adzic, Andrija Raseta, Milan Pujic, and Zorko Canadije.

Yesterday as well—and this in turn is rather telling—we were unable to get official information on the execution of this decision and a confirmation or denial of the report that it has been quietly or officially retracted. This time, skipping the regular procedure that dictates that information is obtained through information services, we went directly to people in the office of the chief of the General Staff. They cordially referred us to their colleagues in the office of the federal minister of defense, while the latter in turn apologized that they could not help us and sent us back to the General Staff or to the information service. Back and forth, and there is no official information.

But let us return to the occupants of the apartments. If the work of the commissions and the decision by the General Staff come down to what children would call [words indistinct], and if the lists of recipients have not changed, then besides the 12 occupants who got their keys the day before yesterday and the five from the famous controversial list, the following generals should be getting keys shortly (next week, it is expected): Ljubovoje Jokic, Vladan Sljivic, Vlada Stojanovic, Aleksandar Stamatovic, Rade Polic, Dmitar Trbojevic, Vuleta Vuletic, Dimitrije Baucal, Zvonko Jurjevic, Branko Stankovic, Tihomir Grujic, Milos Bajcetic, Tomislav Perunicic, Mato Pehar, and Vladimir Djurovic.

Interesting Thing About Redemption

The list will be confirmed or refuted by who moves in. As will reports that some generals have exchanged or sold their apartments.

However, even after "Cvecara" has been occupied, its residents will not be uninteresting, of course, given the bitter taste of everything that has happened. Perhaps a new affair is looming as well. Because there is a good chance that the residents of "Cvecara" will be on another list—that of tax evaders or, to put it more mildly, those who have not fulfilled their obligations to the state. Because regardless of how they got their apartments, the assessors from Savski Venac are warning that they must pay excise tax. We have learned that generals who have gone to the Revenue Administration in order to get a seal indicating that they, like all other citizens who have received and redeemed social housing, are exempt from the excise tax have been told that this is not possible in their case. The assessors are not interested in the fact that the generals from "Cvecara" bought their apartments at the prices at which social housing is redeemed (or even if they got them free). Before redeeming or buying the apartment, they did not have the right of occupancy. Only those with the right of occupancy who redeem an apartment are exempt from the tax. But the residents of "Cvecara" bought or redeemed their apartments before they were even built, so that they never signed a contract on use of the apartment (proof of the right of occupancy).

In anticipation of new distributions of keys and occupancies, the "Cvecara" web is becoming entangled in a new way.

Economic Chamber Scores Economic Policy

93BA1126A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 93 p 11

[Article by D. Sverko: "Serbian Chamber Accuses Government"]

[Text] Belgrade—Dissatisfied with contours of economic policy, businessmen at yesterday's session of the Assembly of the Economic Chamber of Serbia accused the republican government of doing more to stimulate inflation than to restrain it, especially through its policy on wages and by stipulating a minimum wage which the economy cannot pay. Several of them called on the government to refrain from further "help" and suggested that it resign. The federal government was once again blamed for the prime issue situation, which because of delays is getting through to production least of all.

Branislav Vujinovic, the president of the Economic Chamber of Belgrade, was the first to request that a protest be lodged with the republican Assembly and the Trade Union concerning the placement of prime issue as well as the establishment of the minimum wage. A member of the Presidency of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, Milenko Ilic, feels that the tripartite stipulation of wages for the most simple labor adds pressure to the rise in prices, because stipulated wage levels are not the result of economic trends.

Moreover, prices under the direct control regime, and thus those established by the government, have risen faster than the prices of products and services in other sectors, including those that are established freely.

Danilo Ivanovic, the president of the Economic Chamber of the Kragujevac region, called the agreement on the minimum wage a deception of the working class by the Trade Union, while the republican government, in his words, is working on destroying the business framework of the economy.

Responding to the charge that the government and the Trade Union are conspiring while the Economic Chamber is restrained, Serbian Minister of Industry Momir Pavlicevic emphasized that mutual agreement is necessary, and that unfortunately we are moving away from that. Emphasizing that the Chamber has not put forward any concrete proposals, but has only complained, he added that the economy has ended up in the hands of people who do not know their job and do not know what to do, while their previous references do not correspond to the position in which they find themselves right now.

Responding to the charge about the minimum wage, he emphasized that the primary task of the government is concern for social peace, because without that the country cannot be defended.

[Box, p 11]

Momir Pavlicevic, Serbian Minister of Industry: Illegal Sources of Money

"There are several centers from which money is created without the government's knowledge. These are illegal sources of money about which we are not supposed to know," Serbian Minister of Industry Momir Pavlicevic emphasized yesterday at the session of the Assembly of the Economic Chamber of Serbia.

He also brought up the illogic in the distribution of prime issue. Defending the economy, he emphasized that inflation was lowest during the last three months of last year, when issue was used by the machine-building industry in order to stimulate production, and highest when money was fed into agriculture. This is also reflected by the prices of certain agricultural products (in January of last year, the average wage bought 672.4 kg of flour, while in April of this year it was three times less, 228.4 kg).

Proposal To Amend Federal Criminal Law

93BA1096E Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 93 p 10

[Article by Lj. Zorkic: "Genocide Without the Death Penalty"]

[Text] If the federal criminal law is brought into conformity with the Constitution of the FRY in the Federal Assembly, as the federal government has proposed, the death penalty would be removed from 90 percent of the crimes punishable under that statute. Thus, according to the proposal prepared by the government, the courts would pronounce a sentence of 20 years in prison instead of the death penalty. This applies to criminal acts such as war crimes and crimes against humanity and international law, against the Army of Yugoslavia in wartime and during an immediate danger of war.

"This amendment of the federal criminal code does not signify elimination of the death penalty from the system of penalties. It is a question of a reduced application of the death penalty," NOVOSTI was told by Dr. Zoran Stojanovic, federal justice minister. "The constitutions of Serbia and Montenegro and the criminal codes of the republics, by contrast with the FRY Constitution, have retained the death penalty as a penalty for crimes within their jurisdiction. And these are the death penalties pronounced most frequently—homicide in the first degree and heinous banditry."

What is your comment on this "duality," as a specialist who has worked as a member of teams of experts to polish criminal legislation and who has favored elimination of the death penalty?

"I felt that a uniform criminal code is the real solution. This present one has been amended six times since 1977. This most recent amendment is related to the updating in 1990, when certain anachronistic political crimes, such as the verbal crime, were removed. If there is an extraordinary session of the Federal Assembly, a criminal law reconciled with the FRY Constitution will be adopted by the end of June. This law no longer has the features of the superseded system which protected self-management and always placed the state above the citizen. Only in the second phase of the amendments, which is supposed to be completed by the end of 1994, would the FRY, I hope, get a uniform criminal code comparable to the modern criminal legislation of other states. Work on that will be done by a group of experts and we hope that the republics will be in favor of that kind of cooperation."

Asked if it was not illogical for the death penalty to be applied to first-degree murder and not to genocide, which possibly could cover thousands of heinous misdeeds, as has been the case, for example, in the war on the soil of the former SFRY, Dr. Stojanovic said that this is certainly illogical of us, but the death penalty is not envisaged for the crime of genocide even in the rules of the international court for war crimes which were formulated the other day by the UN Security Council.

Dr. Stojanovic also believed that the penalty of 20 years' imprisonment is not an appropriate substitute for the death penalty. There were proposals to prescribe 25 years in prison, but that is possible only in the second phase of amending the criminal code. In the criminal legislation of Austria, Germany, Italy, Holland, and other states which have repealed the death penalty, they have replaced it with life imprisonment.

The abolitionist conception that the right to life is inviolable and that the state does not have the right to take life, because it does not give it, has still not won a majority of supporters in our country. That is why the federal Constitution contains a "halfway" provision—that the death penalty may not be prescribed by federal law.

[Box, p 10]

Free Public Speech

A ban on public speech as a crime, prescribed by Article 67 of the federal criminal code, will be deleted according to the proposal of the federal government. This is an important step forward in protecting the freedom of public speech and expression as a human and civil right.

In practice, this means that no one will any longer have the right to prohibit anyone from speaking publicly over the radio, TV, or in public meetings or the publication of newspapers and books in order to protect the state from the abuse of public speech. If the court judges that public statement would be dangerous to the state, a person so suspected and charged could be kept in prison for one year or five years.

"The deletion of that article has removed the relic of the former ideological legal system," Dr. Stojanovic says.

Funds for 90 Commercial Projects Approved

93BA1098D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 May 93 p 11

[Article by B. Jager: "Federal Minister of Economics Tomislav Simovic on Spending of Prime Issue: Only 90 Programs Approved"]

[Text] As many as 293 enterprises competed for funds from prime issue designated for supporting and promoting production; the total amount sought was 71.644 trillion dinars. For purposes of comparison, the Central Bank approved the much more modest amount of 2.200 trillion dinars for this purpose during the second quarter. After combing through the applicant programs, the Federal Ministry of Economics agreed to 90 of them which are deemed deserving of NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] approval of these loans.

According to Federal Ministry of Economics Tomislav Simovic, the ministry was guided by assessments of whether the applicant programs employ a sizable

number of firms, whether they offer products that are in demand on the domestic market and can be exported, whether there are adequate intermediate goods and energy to implement the programs, and finally whether they make it possible to produce market products that can be exported immediately after the blockade is lifted. It turned out that some enterprises were trying to secure funds for wages and to survive for the next month or two, not for production. It is estimated that around 40 percent of the applications were based on the overblown appetite for issued money. Applying the noted criteria, the Federal Ministry of Economics decided to give the green light to the programs of 90 enterprises. For the most part, the funds from prime issue do not cover all the funding needs for these programs; rather, they are intended as initial capital for their implementation.

"There is no basis for criticism to the effect that this Ministry has been transformed into some sort of administrative distributor of issued money and that we have circumvented commercial banks, which in fact track the economy and have a better idea of where it is pays to direct this money.

"Specifically, not a single enterprise can get money from prime issue without the request of commercial banks. In addition, any enterprise that draws these credits must be backed by a commercial bank with that same amount of funds and a willingness to invest in the program. Nor is there any truth to objections from the economy that certain sectors or organizations were omitted from the game. There have been cases where businessmen have protested on television about how prime issue has been distributed while not a single application was received from their firms. It must be emphasized that this is not some sort of redistribution of state money, but rather a competition between programs that either were or were not selected for this support," says Simovic, emphasizing that in any event the final arbiter is the NBJ.

Right now, the most essential thing is that these funds actually be incorporated into production. The big responsibility of the commercial banks is to track where this money goes. Nevertheless, it is estimated that 20 to 30 percent of the funding could be applied to other purposes. The risk has been reduced by the decision by the Central Bank whereby audits of commercial banks will be conducted, and if any unintended disbursement of this money is determined, the bank in question will be penalized by being dropped from the distribution of prime issue for one year. In recent days, representatives of the NBJ and of the federal government have been establishing a new framework for prime issue which will be applied in the third quarter for supporting and promoting production.

Status of Closed Private Savings Banks

93BA1099E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 93 p 9

[Article by Biserka Dumic: "What's New at Banks and Savings Institutions That Have Closed Their Doors: Accusations Have Replaced Money and Interest"]

[Text] *While an audit is under way at "Dafiment Bank," several owners of savings banks are in court; every day, more and more charges from injured savers are arriving at the Okrug Public Prosecutor's Office.*

When and whether "Dafiment Bank," "Jugoskandik," and their numerous competitor-savings banks that have also closed their doors will once again start paying out money is a question that continues to vex thousands of savings depositors.

Naturally, the largest number of them are interested in the fate of "Dafiment Bank," because the largest amount of savings has been deposited in this, until recently, most popular private bank. Dafina Milanovic, the president of "Dafiment Bank," has disclosed from Podgorica, where she is on a trip, that Prof. Slobodan Komazec is no longer on the consolidation team. In her words, the audit of "Dafiment Bank" is now being done by people from the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] and the NBS [National Bank of Serbia], and it is going "very successfully." The NBS confirmed to us that following the initial rehabilitation procedure through the Board of Governors, the audit of "Dafiment Bank's" business transactions is currently under way.

More and More Business for the Courts

"In an agreement with the Trade Payments Service, the National Bank of Serbia has taken steps to see to it that auditors from that service perform the audit of 'Dafiment Bank' and assess its credit rating, which is essential to the further rehabilitation process. The procedure is in progress, so that it is too early to talk about results," we were told by the NBS.

While there appears to be hope for the "Dafiment Bank" depositors, and nearly everyone would be more than happy if they got back only what they invested, without interest, or even the principal reduced by 10 percent, there is probably no hope for those who deposited foreign exchange in "Jugoskandik." There is no way that Boss Jezda is going to return, at least not in the foreseeable future, and there are no marks or dollars left in its vaults.

But what about private savings banks that have shut down? As was previously announced, inspectors from the national banks made the rounds last week. However, we were unable to learn how many they "combed through" and what they "recorded." This is because the amassed findings are at the NBJ, and the responsible people there who were supposed to give us information have lately had so much work to do that they have not had time to present the findings to us.

We tried to learn something more concrete about the savings banks against whose owners charges have been filed. At the Okrug Public Prosecutor's Office, we were told that there are more and more depositors filing charges. Thus, in the case of the "Business Center" savings bank, 130 charges have been filed thus far by

depositors, with approximately 115 more coming from the SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs].

Nebojsa Markovic, the deputy okrug public prosecutor, told us that Olga Jovicevic, the owner of "Business Center," is supposed to be questioned concerning the appropriation of 1.7 million German marks [DM], $52,000, and 9,555 Swiss francs. The former cafe cook and savings bank owner could be sentenced to three to 15 years in prison for fraud under Article 171.

Also under way is an investigation, launched on 26 March, against the indicted Milan Gradeljevic, the owner of the "Kir Janja" savings bank in Zemun, which shut down in the middle of that month. Thus far, according to prosecutor Milivoje Smiljkovic, approximately 80 injured depositors have filed charges, and it is expected that many more will come forward. He adds that the savings deposited in "Kir Janja" amounted to around one and a half million German marks.

"There are also real problems here, because all of this is on the borderline between civil rights and the criminal act of fraud. This actually involves a contractual relationship between the savings bank and the depositor, who should take his dispute before a regular court," says Prosecutor Smiljkovic.

Concocted Theft From the People

It is known that Jasmina Presovic and Slobodan Stankov, the owners of the private enterprise and savings bank of the same name, "Cocar," are in jail. They are suspected of fraud, and a sum of around DM2 million is involved.

The "Aleksandar" and "Inter Stefani" savings banks are also no longer paying out money to their depositors. However, it is still unknown what has become of their owners, Stefani Aleksandar and Branko Denic, who have disappeared without a trace, while no criminal charges have been filed, at least not in court (the SUP has yet to speak up).

All in all, depositors can do nothing after filing complaints other than to wait for their rights to be exercised. The rights are on their side, as Miodrag Tmusic, the main okrug public prosecutor said recently, but whether they will succeed in getting their money back remains a big question.

This is because it has obviously been confirmed that the majority of the savings banks simply accumulated money from citizens and paid out interest from new deposits in a vicious circle. When deposits stopped coming in, after the spectacular flight of Boss Jezda, the chain was broken and the savings banks were inevitably doomed to failure.

Dr. Radovan Kovacevic confirms that this was a concocted mechanism for stealing from the people. The state allowed anything to go on the financial market and obviously had no effective control. The money has to be somewhere, and perhaps the authorities too had in mind this popular cycle of priest to sack, sack to sexton....

Kosovo

Serbian Police Beat, Apprehend Villagers

LD2406190593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] A group of 70 armed Serbian policemen encircled the village of Kernice, near Klina, in southwestern Kosovo early today under the pretext that a group of Albanian saboteurs was in the village. It has been learned that the Serbian policemen brutally beat six Albanians and apprehended 10 others.

The Serbian police also beat numerous members of the presidium of the Klina branch of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK]. The DSK has informed international institutions about this latest wave of violence.